

THE
IDOL

OF THE
CLOWNES,

OR,

INSURRECTION

OF

WAT the TYLER,

With his PRIESTS

B A A L and S T R A W;

Together with

His fellow Kings of the Commons,

against the English Church, the King, the

Laws, Nobility, and Royal Family

and Gentry, in the fourth year of

K. Richard the 1st. A.D. 1381.

*In rebus humanis sæcula ac persona inter-
venit, causa & eventa eadem recurrunt.
Nulla tyrannis vel quicquam est vel durat.*

London, Printed in the Year, 1650.

Ne-ville Fano.

THE

STORY

OF

THE

REFORMATION

IN

THE

CHURCH

John of Lydgate,

lib. 4.

And semblably to put it at a pisse,
And attests it by close experience,
One the most contrarious mischiesse
Found in this earth by notable evidences,
As oneis this by fortune violence
When that wretched churlish of nature
The estate of princes unsparely doth recture.

If a crown of Gold is nothing according,
For to be set upon a knaves head
A foolish clerk for to weare a King,
Accordeth nat, who that can take here,
And in this world there is no greater biede
Then power like (if it be well sought)
Unto such one that first rose up of nought.

There is no manner just convenience
A royal Carbuncle, Ruby, or Garnet,
Nor a chaste Emeraude of v.rtues excellence,
Nor Inde Sapphires in Copper to be set,
Their kind'ly power in foule metal to let,
And so the State of politike pynsance
Is ever lost where knaves have Governance.

For a time they may well upstern,
Like windy smokes their fumes sprede,
I crooked all plainly to comprehend,
Woode of discretion is moze for to bide
Then is a Lyon for that one indure;
Of his nature is migry and royall,
Woode of discretion that order befall.

The gentle nature of a strong Lyon,
To prostrate people of kinde is merciable,
For unto all that fall afoze him down,
His royall puissance cannot be vengeable:
But churlish Wolbes by rigour untreatable,
And collyshe asses che of beastialty
Fayning reason bypde eber on cruelty.

None is so proude as he that can no good,
The louder hee the moze presumption,
Most cruelt: and vengeance in lowe blode
With malapertnesse and indiscretion:
Of Churle and Gentle make this division
Of outthow of them I dare right well reposit
For them that came, thereto the wyf relosse.



To the Reader.



He beginnings of the Second Richard's reign are turmoiled with a Rebellion, which shake his Throne and Empire: A Rebellion, not more against Religion and Order, than Nature and Humanity too; A Rebellion never to be believed, but in the Age it was acted in, and our own, in which we finde how terrible the overflowses of the common people (ever delighted in the calamities of others) untied, and hurried on by their own wills, and beastly fury must prove; though Masanello is short of Tyler, yet if we compare that Fisherman with our Hinds, the Neapolitan Mechanicks and our Clowns, we shall not finde them much unlike, not in their sudden flourish and prosperity, not in the mischiefes they did, and the barbarous savage rudeness in the doing them: Masanello made a shew of foolish unreasonable Piety to

the Prince and Archbishop, which became
not his part, which made him the more im-
perfect Rebell, the worse Politician; how-
ever, he might seem the better man; but
these too might be but counterfeits reverences;
this might be his disguise, and he might have
come up to more, according to the new lights
which we may imagine were breaking in.
The continuance and mis-rule of these War-
ries were much of a length; in a few dayes
the brands themselves had fired, broke upon
their own heads, they were pluck'd up before
their full growth, like any flitting clouds, they
were blown over ere they could pour down the
storm they were big with. The calours of these
tumults were fair, and taking, such as their
Architects Bial and Scraw, the Priests had
layd, such as the Masters of these Schooles
have delivered in all ages. The Weal pub-
lick, the liberty of the free-born people (pil-
led, and sleyed by the Kings taxes, and the
cruell oppression of the Gentry.) Justice, Re-
formation, or Regulation of Fundamentall
Laws long subverted (considerable names
if we may believe them) set them on. The
King, his Glory, his Honour, his Safety, The
King and the Commons are cryed up. But
the King was compassed with Traitors and
Malignants, they will have it so, and it is
their

their care to remove them root and branch;
they will fire the house to cleanse it; much
other business they had, much was amiss,
much to be reformed, but in the first salley
all is not mowed; What was not handsome,
What might give a fuller fright was lapped
up in folds, to be discovered as they had thri-
ven, to be swallowed, but gilded with a
Victory: We know crimes carried in a happy
Stream of luck, lose their names in it, are
beautifull, and must be thought so: The
Ordale of the Sword justified Cæsar, and
condemned Pompey, not his cause. *Adversus
res etiam bonos detractant* (says Salust.)
Good men, if they miscarry, do not only
lose themselves but their integrity, their just-
ness, their honesty, they are what the Conque-
rour pleases, and the silly multitude, which e-
ver admires the glitter of prosperity, will
hate them. Providence preserved the English
Nation from this blow. The Laurel of suc-
cess crowned not the Rebels, they crumble to
their first dust again, are ruined by their own
weights and confusion. They had risen like
those Sons of the Dragons teeth, in tempests,
without policy or advice. Their leaders were
merely fantastical, but goblins and shadows,
willing to embrace, and daring, whose
courage was better than their cause; and

who to advance the design would not boggle
at a piece of Honesty, an Oath, a Protestati-
on, or Covenant; a Verse of St. Paul, or St.
Peter, a Case of Conscience in the way of
brave, bold, manly spirits, yet without head
or wit to manage the great work, which in
so vast a body suddainly composed like the
spawns of Nile, of slime and dirt, of so diffe-
rent parts, so unequal members, was fatal
to the whole. Tyler had no brains, he could
not plot, not contrive; and those about him
were as heavy, as very Asses as himself: He
is said to be a crafty fellow, and of an excel-
lent wit, but wanting grace; yet crafty e-
nough he was not for the great and dangerous
enterprise: a Marius (however impious (for
such he must be) piece pessimur, fitter to re-
move things, to overturn, overturns, than for
peace (but as Plutarch of him) subtil, faith-
lesse, one who could overdo all men in dissem-
bling, in hypocrisie, practised in all the arts of
lying (and some of these good sleights Tyler
wanted not) one who had sense and judgement
to carry things on as well as desperate confi-
dence who undertake had become this part in-
comparably, had gone through with it, how
easily under such a Captain (if we look upon
the weaknesse of the opposition, and the villai-
nous baseness of the Gentry) had the frame of
the

the ancient building been rased, the Adversary
must have held. Richard (whose endeavours
of defence or loyalty alone should have been
killing) had not fallen by the sword of Lanca-
ster, he had found his grave on Tower-hill,
or Smithfield, where the faithfull sieges of
his Crown were torn in pieces by these Cani-
bals. The reverence due to the anointed
heads of Kings began to fall away, and naked
Majesty could not guard where Innocency
could not: But Tyler blinded with his owne
fatal pride, throws himself foolishly upon the
Kings sword, and by his over-much hast pre-
serves him whom he had vowed to destroy. The
Heathens make it a mark of the Divinity of
of their Gods, that they bestowed benefits upon
mortal men, and took nothing from them. The
Clownes of the Idoll upon this rule were not
very heavenly, they were the weak ones of
those times, the onely inheritours of right,
the kingdom was made a prey by them, it was
canted out to erect new Principalities for the
Mock-kings of the Commons; so their Chiefs
or Captains would be called. Here, though
the title of the Rebellion spoke fair, was shewn
some what of ambition, and no little of unjust
private interest, no little of self-seeking which
the good of the people (in pretence onely) was
to give way to, and no wonder for the good
of

of the people properly, was miserably to be intended of themselves: and no where but amongst these was the Commonwealth. Had these Thistles, these Brambles flourished, the whole Wood of noble Trees had perished: If the violent casting other men out of their possessions, firing their houses, cutting off their Heads, violating of all Rights, he thought Gods blessing, any evidence of his owning the Cause, these Thieves and Murderers were well blessed, and sufficiently owned. Such was then the face of things, estates were dangerous, every Rich man was an enemy, mens lives were taken away without either offence or trial; their reign was but a continuation of horrible injuries; the Lawes were not only silent, but dead: The Idolls fury was a Law, and Faith, and Loyaltie, and Obedience to lawfull power, were damnable: Servants had the rule over Princes, England was near a slavery, the most unworthy of free and ingenious spirits of any.

What I relate here (to speak something of the Story) I collect out of Sir Iohn Froissart, a French-man, living in the times of King EDWARD the third, and his Grandchild, King RICHARD, who had seen England in both the reigns, was known and esteemed in the Court, and came last over after these

these Tunnies were appended to, and that of
 Thomas of Walsingham, a Monk of St. Al-
 banes in Henry the sixth's dayes; who (sayes
 Bale in his centuries of him) writes downe the
 most choise passages of affairs and actions, such
 as no other hath was with. In the which, and
 to the substance of things, I have made no alter-
 ations, no additions, I have faithfully fol-
 lowed my Authors, who are not so historically
 exact as I could wish, nor could I much better
 what did not please me in their order. No
 man (saies Walsingham) can recite fully the
 mischiefs, murders, sacrilidge, and cruelty of these
 Actors; he excuses his digesting them Next
 upon the confusion of the combustions flaming
 in such varieties of places, and in the same time.
 Tyler, Litster, and those of Hartfordshire
 take up most part of the discourse, Westbrome
 is brought in by the halves; the lesser Snakes
 are onely named in the Chronicle: What had
 been more, had not been to any purpose: These
 were but types of Tyler the Idoll, and acted
 nothing but according to the Original, accor-
 ding to his great example, they were Wolves
 alike, and he that reads one knowes all. Tho-
 mas of Becket, Simon of Montfort; the

Per. 304.
 W. of. 1.
 &c.

Per Thomz Sanguinem salua nos Breviar. fest. S. Tho. Cam. R.
 strang Polyd. D' Avilla Jaquet Clem. the Paricide of Hen. 3. of France
 was prayed for as a Saint.

English

*English Cataline, Thomas of Lancaster, Re-
bels and Traitors of the former years are Ca-
nonised by the Monks (generally the enemies
of their Kings) miracles make their Tombs
illustrious, and their Memories sacred. The
Idol and his Intendaries are abhorred every-
where, every History detests them, while Faith,
Civility, Honesty and Piety shall be left in the
World, the enemies of all these must neither be
beloved nor pitied.*

The



THE IDOL OF THE CLOWNES.



He Reigne of King Rich-
ard the second, was but
a throw of State for so
many yeares, a Fever
to whole distempers all
pieces of the home Do-
minions contributed by him (* the forrain ** Guine*
part onely continuing faithfull) in the
fourth yeare of his reigne, and fifteenth
of his Age, the dregs and off-scum of the
Commons unite into bodies in severall
parts of the Kingdome, and forme a Re-
bellion (called the Rebellion of the
Clownes) which lead the rest, and shewed
the way of disobedience first. Of which
may truly be said (Though amongst o-
ther

ther causes we may attribute it to the indisposition and unseasonableness of the age, that the fruits of it did not take) it was strongly begun, and had not Providence held back the hand, the blow had fallen, the Government had broke into shivers then. The young King at this time had few besides *Thomas of Woodstock* his Uncle, Earle of *Buckingham*, and after Duke of *Gloucester*, but the servants of his house in ordinary about him, the Lord *Edmund of Langley* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *York*, with the Lords *Beauchamp*, *Botreaux*, Sir *Matthew Gurney* with others of the Nobility, and Gentry had set saile for *Portugal*, the Duke *John of Lancaster*, another of his Uncles was in *Scotland* treating a peace, when this commotion brake out. Though no cause can be given for Seditions, those who designe publick troubles, can never want pretences; *Polidore* (as much out in this story as any) gives this reason for this. The Poll money sayes he (imposed by *Parliament*) a groat sterling upon every head was intollerable. It was justly imposed, and so by some to whom Law and Custome of *England* were intollerable not to be indured, but we shall find in the tyranny breaking in, not onely fifth and

twentieth parts and loanes forced out of
 feare of plunder and death, but subsidies
 in Troops and Regiments, by fifties, (more
 than Sequestrations and Compositions) not
 under foot, low sales, for what had these
 Rascalls to give, but down right Robbery
 and violent usurpation of Estates, d. 1511

Thus would *Palldore* have it in defence
 of his Priests, who blew the fire, and
 thrust the silly rout into the middle of it. He
 takes it ill that *Baal* (wells he calls him)
 should be supposed by I know not what
 flatterers of the Nobles to have filled these
 sailes, to have let these windes out of
 their Caverns, d. 1511

In the fourth yeare of this King (says
 the Monk) there was a grievous Tax ex-
 acted in *Parliament*, after cause of great
 trouble, every Religious paid half a Mark,
 every Secular Priest as much, every Lay-
 man or Woman 1^d. This might discon-
 tent the people, but who prepared the
 Mutineers for such dangerous impietuous
 who fell in with them after and pushed
 them forward will be soon found. *Frisi*
sat complains of the servitude of the
 villanes or Bond-men (now Napiers worne
 out) a miserable sort of drudges frequen-
 tly knowne here in the *Saxon* times en-
 closed from any right of propriety, sold, and
 passed

passed away with the Mannour or Lands to which they belonged, bound to till the Lords ground, cut downe, and carry in his Corne, cleanse his Ditches, cover his Halle, &c. These *Freiffart* make the first stirres in the Insurrection, these he makes look back to the beginning of men and things to talk of the primitive freedome, of the liberties of the Creature, above Ordinances, that only Treason against the Lords could forfeit Liberty, which was the case of *Lucifer*, and could not be made theirs, who were neither Angels nor spirits, but men of the same shape, extraction, and Soules with those who proudly would be thought their Lords, which (say they) was an height too much, and deserved levelling, must not be endured hereafter, equality was the way of peace and love. But can clouds fire in thunder and lightning, can earth quakes teare the entrails of expiring Kingdomes, without a *Muncer*, or a *Wiggington*, a *Garnet*; or an *Hall* in the mine?

If the Church and Government must be blowne up, it is fit a sanctified hand should (cast the Balles) a man (according to the pure dialect) of immediate calling, who has had the *Seals* of it, of wonderful zeale, of resolute dealings, the Lords *Messenger* & extraordinary

*travordinary gifted and exercised, is onely
 fit to advance Gods matters, the Holy cause,
 and action, and a Renegado from his or-
 ders: an Apostate Church-man will best be-
 come this person, a man with whom no-
 thing else is sacred but his owne ambition,
 his innovation, and the propagation of his
 Schisme. One Baal the most scottish
 and most unworthy, but most fashi-
 ons of the Clergy is stirred up by the
 Devill (who, if rebellion be as the flane of
 Witchcraft, is the Father of both) to be
 the Antichrist of this Reigne, to blaspheme
 and cry down God and Cesar his enoyored,
 the Rights of God and Cesar; and who, if
 he knew any thing, was certainly the very
 Atheist of that age, *Of these imaginations*
(so Froissart of those before) was a foolish
Priest in the County of Kent called John
Wall (for Baal) and to make it plain that
he was the Father of the uproare, he had
been (sayes this Knight) three times in
the Archbishops prison (a persecuted Saint)
for these Opinions, but delivered by him,
his Conscience was scrupulous of proce-
ding farther, which this Historian con-
demnes him for: we shall hereafter see the
Archbishop in John's hands, who shall
come short of this mercy. John had pre-
ched (if it be not impious to use) the word
B
here)*

here) twenty yeares, and more, ever babbling those things which he fancied would be gracions to the multitude ; He haunted by-places, the Cloysters of the Cathedrall; when the Church was shut against him, the Streetes and Fields were holy ground ; There this excommunicated Apostate laid his Nets. His discourses to the people were partly invectives against Tithes (which he allowed not where the Parishioner was of better life and smaller estate than the Parson, whose estate at this rate must be small enough) against Bishops, and the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry ; Then he had his quarrells to the Government, his Doctrine struck at propriety, and order, the World was impaired with Diseses, which must be the more for their age, the crisis would be dangerous, and there could be no health, no soundnesse hoped for, till Names, Estates, and things were common. His advise was to let the King know the resolutions of the new Common-wealthsmen, to tell him where the *Supreme power* lies, whose Trustee he was, that another course must be taken, and if he would not joyn with them, other remedies thought of ; the third time he was imprisoned, he had his Revelations, his *Enlightenings*, was full of divine raptures, he foretold his de-
live-

liverance by 20000. men; which happened in the following tumults, when his Disciples made so many Gale-deliveries. This, knowing what numbers he had seduced and abused, he might presume upon probable conjecture. He was no sooner loose, but he incites and stirs up the unruly *Clowns* to all the mischiefs possible.

He tells them they were pious and necessary excesses, and that the Law of Nature, which allows all acts for our owne preservation, would justify them: that a mad Father, who seeks to rob and destroy his off-spring, might be resisted, his thrusts might be put by, the Son might binde his hands, and if there were no other way to escape his furious violence, kill him in his owne defence. The safety of the people is the Supreme law. If the Prince persisting (after faire warning) to make himselfe a shield and defence to wicked instruments of mischiefs, *Adalignants* and enemies of the Commons, securing them from the justice of the Commons, endanger himself and his Kingdoms, he may thank himselfe; *We* (sayes he) are willing to hazard our selves (good men) to preserve both; we will never give any impediment, or neglect any proper means of curing the distempers of the Kingdoms, and of closing the dangerous breaches (made

by themselves) according to the trust which
 lies upon us. At Black-heath, where an as-
 sembly of 200000 men made their Rendez-
 vous, after some time spent in seeking
 God, he baits in Rime,

Walsingh. *Alas! John Adam said, and the span,*
Which was then a Gentleman?

Was his levelling leud Text: hence it was
 to be consequent, that as nature, and the
 Creation made no distinction, no more
 ought Lawes to make or suffer any; that
 servitude is the daughter of unjust oppres-
 sion, introduced by wicked men against
 Gods Will. That if it had pleased him to
 have created slaves, in the beginning he
 would have chosen, and marked out who
 should have been the Lord, who the Vas-
 sal; he asks where the word allowes
 these sweet things called Lords, verily
*Knaves in Purple, Sons of Cains, of Nim-
 rod, of Esau, of Ismael, fat by the blood
 and sweat of the poore innocent Plebei-
 ans, honourable in nothing but the out-
 side, and noble onely in riots and adulte-
 ries, as cruell, as ravenous, as killing (and
 as barbarously) as the Beares, the Lyons, the
 Tigers of their escutcheons, the Dragons
 of their bearing; he asks why the limber
 Knights,*

Knights, and Franklins, who are onely better clothed, can kiss the hand and lowt with more grace, must eat the Capons, which the sturdy brave Commons must starve themselves to cramme: nothing could be good which was great, nothing but *Independency* was divine.

He bids them consider, now was the time appointed them by God to cast off the yokes, that if they would not be wanting to themselves, they should assert their long looked for liberty, and like good Husbandmen, who love their field, pluck up the weedes which over run it (which signified rooting out the wicked, and those who carried the mark of the Beast) He points them out the heads devoted, destined for slaughter. * The House of Lords, the Peers (as yet they speak no higher) whom he would have brought to Repentance. Then the Lawyers, Justices, Judges, Jury-men, † all the enemies of the commonalty were to be swept from the Earth, there could not else (so he concludes) be any peace or security for the future, * lopping off the Heads of those which were too tall, which over-topped too much, equall Nobility, equall Liberty, Dignity and Power (this was his old Doctrine) were the onely antidotes, without which the poysoned

*Deposito
servituti
jugo, liber-
tate, &c.
Wals. more
boni patris
famil. cocu-
lentis agris
suam.
Regni
Majoris.
Quocun-
que nascitur
communis
de terra
suavitate.
reus.
si subla-
tis Majori-
bus aqua li-
beris, &c.*

Common-wealth must perish. Whosoever loved not the Cause was a Reprobate, hatefull to God, and damned Body and Soule. John concludes with an exhortation, that in order to the security and preservation of Religion and Liberty of the Subject, they will never consent to the laying downe of armes, so long as the evil Councillors and Prelates arming, or in open warre shall by force of armes be protected against the justice of the Commons. John addes, of long time there hath beene, and now is, a traiterous plot for the subversion of us and the liberty of the Subject.

In the
Caosidice
for holy
land,

No wonder, when Peter the Hermits Goose was believed to be the Holy Ghost; that John amongst as very Ninnyhammers; could strike up for a Prophet.

† Ut acle-
miseris cum
Archiepif-
copum.
* Commu-
niam Co-
regni pro-
disorem.

The base crew prick up their Eares, and wonder at the new truths, which their Pastor held forth, they applaud him, he is † Archbishop elect, and Chancelour, the true Archb shop must be called a Traitor *, a Traitor of the Commons and the Realm, to make him roome, is voted so, to be apprehended wheresoever he could be found in England, and his Head to be cut off. Here was a new Treason, and a new way of triall and sentence. But though Baal had more of the Spirit, there were other adven-

adventurers not to be robbed of their honours, other *Worthies*, *precious men*, called to doe the *Works of the Lord*; Who put to their hands, and brought Trowels and Morter toward the raising this *Babel*. *Jack-Straw*, another Priest full of life and vigor, the Confessor, and Bosom-chaplein of *Tyler*, more inward with him, his speciall Councillour, acquainted with all his plots, in the contrivance of which he had a great part, bestowed his paines upon the *Cause*, and for action next *Tyler* the Idoll carryed the name, which may be one cause why *Polydore* kills him in *Tyler*s stead, with the Mayors Sword, the most eminent sticklers of the Laity, of the prophane site, where *Was the Tyler*, a *Tyler* by Trade, not by Name, his Name was *Helier* (an ungracious Patron, as *Freisart*) was * *King of the Ribauldes, the Idoll of the Kentish Clownes*. *John Kirkby*, *Alan Trader*, *Thomas Scot*, and *Ralph Rugge*, a *Magnifico*, who gave freely away amongst his fellow Scoundrels the spoiles of his Conquests, were princes of the separation of the Tribes in *Kent* and *Essex*. *Robert Westbrome* (*Wraw* his Chaplaine refusing to set * Crowne upon Crowne, and contented to be the Arch priest of the Province) was *King of Suffolke*, and the parts adjacent.

* *Walf. Rax rikal-
deram, Idol-
lum rusti-
corum.*

* *Walf.*

adjacent. *St. Edmunds-bury*, once the Palace of the East Angle Kings, and *Mildenhall*, were the seats of his Sovereignty; *John Lister* a Tanner usurps the Name and power of a King at *Norwalsbam* in *Norfolk*; I may say the power and more, never was any English King so absolute, nor can any just and legall Principality be so large, and Arbitrary, *Law of the Land* with which the old Englishman was free enough, and contented, was here to be thrown out of dores. The Heptarchy of the *Saxons* seemed to revive againe, but prodigiously, the blazo of these Comets must have been fatall to the Nation; to keep in order in the History of these Russians, who abhorred it, I will give the Van to the Idoll of the *Clowns*, it is due to him, he is the first who lifts up his Head in the confusion among the *Brethren*, and deserves the first chaire, He was the Dragon, and no question in the Conclusion, had swallowed up or clipped the rest, *Lister*, *Westbroms*, and the others merited highly, but they must have been taken down *some pins*, *Tyler* must have elbow-roome, he must have been Lord Paramount, and one such Comet would have been more than enough for one Horizon. Besides *Kent* and *Essex*, were the puddle, the *Lerned* which

which bred this *Hype* with the many Heads which poysoned most of the Counties, and in the conjunction of these two Provinces, *Tyler* the Idoll swayed all: and here I must observe this, that however *Walsingham* hatches the cause in *Essex*, yet his owne relations of *Basil* and the Letters and Sermons of this seducing Prophet bring this into question, and by him if *Kent* be not the Mother, yet are the Treasons of her and *Essex*, Sister-twins of the same birth, *Essex* onely started first.

The fire kindled from a small sparke, The *Clowes* of two Villages not named in the *Chronicles* contrive the Conspiracy there; They send Warrants to the smallest Townes about, and rather command than intreat, all men of what age soever without any stay or deliberation to repaire to a Rendezvouze set downe. The conclusion was terrible; It threatened plundering of Goods, Burning, Pucking downe Houses, and cutting off the heads of those who disobey the present Power.

The summoned Villages are frighted into Obedience, which is *rebell*; They leave their Ploughs, their Fields, their Wives and Families, and in their first rising no lesse than 5000 of the sink of the people meet ill armed, some with Staves, some with

W^{all}.

with rusty Swords, some with Bowes and Featherlesse Arrowes, few knowing any cause of their assembling, gazing upon one another, and not finding any enemies of their own peace and good but themselves. Not one of a thousand was provided like a Souldier, but their number supplied all things, they were highly conceited of themselves, and believed they were invincible, not to be resisted. To confirme their steps, *Baal* (watching to catch, who had long waited for such an opportunity of imbroiling) drives them head-long forward, he writes to them his Letters exhortatory (where to consecrate the enterprise, Gods name is brought in; He is made to owne the *Cause*) composed of a jargon, a canting gibridge, fit for the designe (to abuse and cheat the innocent peasant, who cannot pry into things, cannot look farther than the bait) fuller of Riddles than sense, one of them found in the sleeve of one of these wretched men condemned, and under the Gallows was this.

John Schep, sometimes St. Mary Priest in Yorkn, and now of Colchester greeteth well John namelesse, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in Borough (which Stew by

by a notable mistake calls Gillinborough)
 and stand together in Gods Name, and bid-
 deth Pierre Plowman gas to his work, and
 chastise Hob the robber, and take with you
 John Trewman, and all his fellows and nu-
 mer, John the Miller hath yground smal,
 smal, smal, The Kings Sonne of Heaven
 shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe, Know
 your friend from your foe. Have ynough and
 say boe. And doe well and better, and flee
 sinne and seek peace, and hold therein; And
 so biddeth John Trewman and all his fellows.
 A Lill of Sanctity does well in these Cases,
 but his seeking of Peace, chastising the Rob-
 ber, and fleeing of Sinne, I must leave as
 mysticall. This shewes the industry, care-
 fulnesse, and vigilancy of the Prophet in
 his preparations, and his willingness to
 hurt. He disperseth other Letters of this
 kinde, in one, he chargeth all men in the
 Name of the Trinity, &c. to stand Man-
 like together, and help Truth (now we have
 Truth to our peace) and Truth shall help
 them, in his ragges of Verses (for a Rimer
 he would be) he is as earnest for Truth.
 They begin,

Jack Tredmen both you to understand
 That fallenes, & guile hath reigned too long,
 And Truth hath been set under a Rock,
 And fallenes reigneth in every flock;
 No Man may come truth to
 But he must sing si dedero.

Many Remonstrances and Declarations
 flew abroad from him. The *Kentishmen*,
 seasoned by this Priest or Prophet of
 the Idol, are easily tempted by the *Essex-
 law* to-associate in the undertakings, and
 there in the honour of gaining *Liberty*,
precious Liberty for the people, and taking
 away the evill customes of the Kingdom;
 which is the glorious Title of the tumult.
 This was no more (sayes the Monke) than
 the *Kentishmen* had long wished for. They
 are quickly ready, and by the Arts used by
 those of *Essex* put all the Countrey into a
 combustion. That they may not appeare
 with too much horror at the first sight, they
 wou'd seem to pretend to an out-side
 Piety, they account (so they tell the *King-
 dome* and the world) the professing of any
 thing in the sight of God, the strongest obliga-
 tion that any Christian, and the most solemn
 publick faith, that any such state, as a Com-
 mon-

was.

mon-wealth can give, In all humility and
reverence they contrive a sacred vow and
Covenant.

They fasten the knot of their holy
League with National Covenants and Oaths,
which themselves will first break (then
which there can be no stronger tie, Religion
consists in Faith, he who loses his
Faith hath lost himself) Oaths contrary
to their sworn Allegiance, and former
Oaths, which is a most absurd impiety,
here God must be called upon to help;
and witness the perfidiousness, oaths
use to end—*so helps me God*—he who per-
forms not his oath, directly and plainly,
renounces God, and all that is sacred and
Divine, to swear to day against what we
were sworn to yesterday, must be strange
amongst Christians, these impieties being
once allowed, there can be neither peace,
society, nor government amongst Men
safe and undangered. The wayes leading
to *Canterbury* are beset, the Pilgrimes
swarming thither (according to the su-
perstition of those Ages) are seized, and
forced to swear with these extraordinary
Workers. To keep faith to King Richard
(whose most faithfull Servants, most humble
and loyall Subjects, they profess themselves
to be) and the Commons according to their
power,

~~power and vocation.~~ To accept no King called *John* (a vanity throwne in for Duke *John* of *Lancasters* sake the Kings Uncle, and neglected by the *Norfolke* reformers, who advanced King *John* *Listers* to the Sovereignty) To be ready upon summons to assist the *Commons* (the great wheele of the *New State*, for whom this Oath was given, and to be principally respected by it.) To induce their friends and allies to hold with them, and to allow no Tax but the fifteenth (which say they falsly was the onely Tax their forefathers ever heard of, or submitted to.) How sacred in all the parts this Oath will be with them (which never was to be intended more than temporary) will soone be discovered, diversity of words cannot change the nature of things. Their first march is to *Canterbury*, where they visit *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, who lived and dyed a Rebelle to his Prince, and to use the words of *Rogerius* a Norman, in *Casarius* the Monke deserved death, and damnation for this Contumacy against his King (the Minister of God, a fit Saint for such votaries; Their kindnesse was not much, they spoile his Church, break up the Bishops Chamber, and make a prey of all they finde, protest the Bishop shall give them an account of the

greif:

Caser Dial.
234.69.

the profits of his Chancery, and here they begin their audit.

Thus we see our *New reformers* are entered, but *Sacriledge* shelters them in, they break open the Prisons, and free the *Saints in Bonds, Baal*; when they had done what they came for, the Citizens, who had entertained them, willingly leave their houses to keep them company; a Councell is called to resolve upon what ground the next storme should pour downe, *London* ever false to the Prince. The Wood, which no doubt would lodge the Wolves, is set by their Orders. *Tyler* the Idoll who knew his Reigne would last no longer than while these Men continued madde, thought this the onely place likely to keep them so; *London* too was the fairest mark; and besides, the *Clowes* were assured of a welcome upon a private invitation from some of the Citizens, whose Ancestors and Predecessours in all ages, in the tumults of the Confessor *S. Edwards* reigne, in all the Barons Warres since, have gained the renowned to be lovers of Reformation, otherwise pure Rebellion, enemies to Courtiers and Malignants, enemies to the enemies of their deare Liberties, which yet sometimes they pursue with too much heat and blinde zeale, sometimes to their
cost

Briss.

Wal. Lond.

guib. monk;

accit furia,

cc.

cost and repentance, mistaking every where both notions and things; the bridles which they without feare or wit, provide for their Kings being often thrust into their owne mouths by the new riders, which themselves lift into the saddle, while they growne sober Mules, dare neither kick nor sting. Behold the common people (sayes the Knight) when they be up against the Prince, and especially in England, among them there is no remedy, for they are the perillousst people of the World, and most outrageous if they be up, and specially the Londoners; sayes the Monk. The Londoners never want fury if they be not kept in, if license or insolence be permitted them. The Princess Dowager of the incomparable Edward the black Prince, Mother of the young King, then at Canterbury, hardly escapes those Savages, who rudely assaule her Chaire, and put her and her Ladies in no small feare of Villany to be done to their persons.

This princess was so willing to be out of their reach, that notwithstanding she was very fat and unwieldie, she got to London in a day. Tylas, who had insinuated himselfe into the good grace of these Charles by appearing the most stirring and active of the Kennell, who began and ruled the cry

try, and was by I know not what Ceremony, perhaps like that Irish election by casting an old shoe over his head, declared Prince of the rabble, leades them to *Kesh*, which will not come behinde *Cantebury* in kindenesse. The people of the Towne (sayes the Knight) were of the same sect, it formes the Castle (once one of the strongest in the Kingdoms,) was now neither fortified nor manned, the Governour Sir *John Mitten* yeelds himself into their hands, he was one of the Kings Family, of his House-hold, and must be thought awed, as he was into the ingagement. Here the *Commons* might be thought ashamed of their owne choyce, they offer Sir *John* the Generalls staffe; which had he accepted, he must have commanded according to the motions of the *Lieutenants* *Generall Tilters* Spirit, and when this turne had been over, at the least stamp of his foot have vanished, sneaked off the stage.

They tell him Sir *John*, you must be our Captaine, and (which shewes the power of his Commission) you shall do what we will have you. The Knight likes not their company, he tries his best wit & language to be rid of them, but could not prevail, they reply downright, Sir *John*, if you
C will

will not doe what we will, haue you, you
 dye for it, we will not be denied, but at
 your perill. Enough was said, the Knight
 yeelds, but his charge of *Captaine Generall*
 is forgotten, we shall see hereafter
 what use they make of him, and in what
 manner he must be imployed. This exam-
 ple is followed in the other Countries. The
 Gentry did not onely lose their Estates,
 and honour, but their courage and gallan-
 try, their bloods were frozen, feare had
 stifled their Spirits. The *Clowens* (as the
 Knight) had brought them into such a
 beylance, that they caused them to go with
 them, whether they would or not, they
 fawned on them, humbled themselves to
 them, like Dogs groveling at their feet.
 The Lord *Malines*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, Sir
Thomas Gysghen, this Sir *John Mason*,
 and others were Attendants and vassales
 to the *Idoll*. Every day new heaps of men
 flock to them, like *Catlines* Troops, all
 that were necessitous at home, unthrives,
 broken fellows, such as for their misdeeds
 feared the Justice of the Lawes; who re-
 sent the dangerous and distastefull state of the
 Kingdome alike, and will no doubt ham-
 mer out an excellent reformation, they
 will mend their owne condition which
 will be enough, we must expect no more,
 and

Walf. qui
 censuram
 juris time-
 bant propter
 male justitiam,
 &c.

and now the confidence in their strength made them bold enough to throw off their maske of Hypocritic, they began to open the inside. They departed from *Rochester* (sayes *Froissart*) and passed the River (he sayes the *Thames* at *Kingstons*) and came to *Brentford*, (where I thinke he leads them out of their way) beating downe before them, and round about, the places and Houses of advocates, and procurers, and striking off the heads of diverse persons. *Walsingham* tell us, who those advocates, and procurers were; All men (sayes he) were amused, some looked for good from the new Masters, others feared this insurrection would prove the destruction of the Realme. The last were not deceived. All the Lawyers of the Land (so he goes on) as well the Apprentices, Counsellours, as old Justices, all the Jurymen of the Countrey, (this was *Priest Balls charge*) they could gripe in their clutches had their heads chopped off.

It was a maxime of the *Cabal*, That there could be no liberty while any of these men were suffered to breathe. From little to great they fell upon things which they never thought of in their first overflow, which *Guicciardine* observes (in civill discords, where the Rebellion is fortunate

and mens mindes are puff'd up with success) to be ordinary. The statue of *Cumaean Apollo* weeps for the destruction of *Cuma*, we shall here reade of men without sense or apprehensions; both the stories will seem as incredible. The stupid Nobility, and Gentry sleep in their Houses, till they are roused by these blood-hounds, that they might seem to deserve the calamity tumbling upon their heads; They were becoming tenants at will, in Villeinage, to their vassalls, under their distresse, their Tasks, and Taxes, more by the Scottish baseness of themselves, than any virtue in these Rascals, Scorned and sleighted by every ratter'd Clunch; Their Lands continually upon any Vote or Information to be sold, or given away upon any information of loyalty or faithfulness: the ancient virtues of the Gentleman, not to be found in that age, and serving onely for a pretence to ruine, no one could form an expectation of more than this, to be the last man borne. (what was *Polyphemus* his kindness to *Ulysses*) to be devoured last, all which they were contented to hazard, and endure to preserve a shred, or jagge of an uncertaine ragged Estate (for the health or mistresses sake) subject ever to the violence of the same lawlesse spoiling force

force which maimed, and rent it before.
N xt (to returne to this rissrassa) their
cruelty reaches to Parchment Daeds,
Charters, Rolles of Courts, Evidences are
cast by them into the fire, as if they meant
to abolish all remembrance of things; this
was to defeat their Lords in the Claims of
any antient Rights; and to leave no man
more title, than themselves had to their
Sword and power.

The *Kentish* and *Essexian* rout, were *Wals.*
joyned (sayes the Monke, but he tells us
not where) and approached neere *London*,
at *Black heath* they made an halt, where
they were neere 100000 strong.

Thither came two Knights sent by the *Wals.*
King to them, to inquire the cause of the
Commotion, and why they had assembled
such swarmes of the people. They answer,
they met to conferre with the King con-
cerning businesse of weight, they tell the
Messengers they ought to goe back to the
King and shew him, that it behoves him
to come to them, they would acquaint
him with their desires (we shall quickly
discover why his presence was required,)
upon return of the Knights, it was debated
in Councell by the Lords about the King,
whether he should goe or no, some of the
Table more willing to venture the King
C 3 than

than themselves, willing to throw him in
to the gulph, or perhaps not sensing
the designe of the *Clownes*, perswade him
to see them, Your Majesty (thus they)
must make a tryall of these men, necessity
now must be looked on above reason, if
any thing can give the check to the up-
rores, it must be your presence, there can
be no safety but in this venture, it is now
as dangerous to seeme not to trust, as to
be deceived; fate is too much feared, if
it be imagined that this tree of your em-
pire, which has flourished so many ages,
can fall in an houre.

Wals.

*Discal'g.
101 y. baul-
des.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Simon*
Theobald of *Sudbury*, Lord Chancellour
of *England*, the most Elcquent, most
Wise, and most pious Prelate of the Age,
faithfull to his Prince, and therefore odi-
ous to those who conspired against his
Majesty, and authority, likes not the ad-
vise; The King ought not (sayes he) to
venture his person among such holsteffe
ribaulds, but rather dispose things so as to
cumber their insolence: Sir; (sayes he)
your sacred Majesty in this storme ought to
shew how much of a King you can play;
What you will goe for hereafter; by your pre-
sent carriage, you will either be feared for the
future, or contemned; If you seriously con-
sider

sider the nature of these rough hewn fleeces;
 you will finde the gentle wayer permissi-
 ons, your remembrance will make you, mercy
 will ever be in your power; but it is not to be
 named without the sword drawn; God and
 your right have placed you in your throne, but
 your courage and resolution shall keep you
 there; your indignation will be justice, good
 men will thinke is so, and if they love you;
 you have enough, you cannot Capitulate; you
 treat with your rebels; without hurrying
 your honour, and perhaps your royall faith; if
 you yeild to the force of one sedition, your
 whole life and reigns will be nothing but a
 continuation of broyles, and tumults; if you
 assert your soveraigne authority betimes, not
 onely these doubts, these suits, but all men else
 will reverence you; remember Sir, God by
 whom lawfull Princes reign, whose vice-
 gerent you are, would not forgive rebellion
 in Angels, you must not trust the face, Peti-
 tions delivered you upon Swords points are
 fatall if you allow this custome you are ru-
 ned, as yet Sir, you may be obeyed as much
 as you please. Of this opinion was Sir
 Robert Hales, Lord Prior of Saint John of
 Jerusalem, newly Lord Treasurer of Eng-
 land, a magnanimous and stout Knight, but
 not liked by the Commons. When this
 resolution was known to the Clowkes, they

grow starke mad, they bluster, they swear to seek out the Kings Traitors, (for such now they must go for; No man was either good or honest, but he who pleased them) the Archbishop, and Lord Prior, & to chop off their Heads, here they might be trusted, they were likely to keep their words.

Hereupon, without more consideration they advance toward *London*, not forgetting to burne, and rase the Lawyers and Courtiers houses in the way, to the Kings Honour no doubt, which they will be thought to Arme for, Sir *John Froissart*, and others report this part thus, which probably might follow after this refusall.

The Rebels say they sent their Knight († so they called him, yet was he the Kings *Graeson*, Knight, for *Tyler* came not up to dubbing, we finde no Sir *John*, nor Sir *Thomas* of his making,) Sir *John Moton*, to the King, who was then in the Tower with his Mother, his halfe brothers *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, after Duke of *Sarry*, and the Lord *Holland*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, and *Oxford*, the Archbishop, Lord Prior and others. The Knight casts himsele downe at the Kings feet, beseeches him, not to looke upon him the worse as in this quality and imployment, to consider he is forced to doe what he

does; He goes on, Sir the *Commons* of this Realme (those few in *Armes* comparatively to the rest would be taken for the whole) desire you by me to speake with them. Your Person will be safe, they repute you still their King (this deserved thanks) but how long the kindnesse will hold we shall soone finde, they profess that all they had done or would doe was for your honour, For your glory, (your honour and security are their great care) they will make you a glorious King, fearfull to your enemies, and beloved of your Subjects, they promise you a plentifull and unparallel'd revenue, They will maintaine your power and authority in relation to the *Lords*, with your royal person, according to the duty of their allegiance, their protestation, their vow, their solempne League and Covenant, without diminishing your just power and greatnesse, and that they will all the dayes of their lives continue in this Covenant against all opposition; They assure you Sir, That they intend faithfully the good of your Majesty, and of the Kingdom, and that they will not be diverted from this end by any private or selfe-respects whatsoever. But the Kingdom has been a long time ill governed by your Uncles, and the Clergy; especially by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of whom they would

would have an account. They have found out necessary Counsels for you, they would warne you of many things, which hitherto you have wanted good advise in.

The conclusion was sad on the Knights part; His Children were pledges for his returne, and if he saide in that, their lives were to answer it. Which moved with the the King; He allows the excuse, sends him back with this answer, that he will speak with the *Commons* the next Morning; which it should seeme the report of the outrages done by the *Clownes* upon his refusall, & this Message made him consent to. At the time he takes his Barge & is rowed downe to *Redbiff*, the place nearest the Rebels, ten thousand of them descend from the Hill to see, and treat with him, (with a resolution to yeild to nothing, to overcome by the Treaty; as they must have done, had not the Kings feare preserved him.) When the Barge drew nigh, the new Councell of state (sayes our Knight) howled, and shouted, as though all the Devills of Hell had been amongst them; Sir *John Mason* was brought toward the River guarded, they being determined to have cut him in pieces, if the King had broke his promise.

All the desires of these good and faithfull Coun-

Counsellours contracted suddenly into a narrow roome, they had now but one demand. The King asks them what is the matter which made them so earnestly sollicite his Presence? They have no more to say, but to intreat him to land. Which was to betray himselfe to them, to give his Life and Sovereignty up to those fickle Beasts, to be held of them during their good pleasures; which the Lords will not agree to. The Earle of *Salisbury*, of this antient Nobility, and illustrious house of *Montacute*, tells them their equipage and order were not comely, and that the King ought not to adventure amongst their troopes. They are now more unsatisfied, and *London*, how true soever to the Cause, and faithlesse to the Prince, shall feele the effects of their fury, *Southwark* a friendly borough, taken up for their first quarters; Here againe they throw downe the Malignants Houses, and as a grace of their entrance, breake up the Kings prisons, and let out all those they finde under restraint in them; not forgetting to ransack the Archbishops house at *Lambeth*, and spoyle all things there—plucking downe the Stews standing upon the *Tuames* banke, and allowed in the former ages; It cannot be thought but that the Idol loved a
 cūtery

duitery well enough, but perhaps these publick bawdy-houſes were too unclean, and might ſtinke in his noſtrils; we can not finde him any where quarrelling with the Beares, thoſe were no Malignantes.

Walſ.

They knocked not long at the City-gates, which (ſome ſay) were never ſhut againſt them, or (as others) quickly opened. The Citizens fancyed themſelves privy Counſellours borne, inſpired from their ſhoppes for affaires of State, and would not ſuppoſe, the Reformation could be effected without them, they were rich by lyes, and all the moſt ſordid wayes of falſhood, and muſt be ſage and knowing, pride the fiſt ſinne the Devill taught man tickles them. The Major Sir *William Walsworth*, whoſe memory (while truth and loyalty ſhall be thought virtues) muſt be honourable, and nine of the Aldermen held for King *Richard*, in vaine; a proſperous wicked chief ſhall never want wicked instruments, Three Aldermen, and the greateſt part of the people for the *King* of the *Commons*, the Idol, and his Priests. Thoſe, the *conſiders*, and well affected to *Tyler*, forbid their Major to keep him out, owne his actions, as done for the good of the faithfull people of the Land, and the *Common-Wealth*, & his followers for their Brethren

Brethren and Companions of the holy Cause. They vow to live and dye with Tylar. Many of those who had no thoughts of doing mischief (yet being none of the wisest) were cheated into a good belief of them, because of their *Protestation* (which in their first entrance they made solemnly) that they had no intent, but this onely, to search and hnt out the Traitors of the Kingdome, the subverters of the fundamentall Lawes, evil Counsellours, and Malignants, and that this done they would give over, they would disband, and returne home the same men they were, to their Farmes and Cottages, without enriching themselves, without any other harvest of their Labours, not doubting but that in the end, it should appeare to all the world, that their endeavours have been most hearty and sincere, for the maintenance of Religion, the Kings just Prerogatives, the Lawes and liberties of the Land, in which endeavours, by the Grace of God, they would persist, though they should perish in the work. Which was believed; what confirmed this Faith was, they made These Capitall (which yet was confined, all without the Fold of the godly were *Egyptians*, and could not be robbed) and paid justly for what they had, but they paid not often

often; nor could their reckonings be great.

The Citizens were their purveyours, and made provision for them, every house was open to them, and tables continually furnished. Their entry was on the 14 of June, 1385. on Wednesday (a little before Midsummer) the eve of Corpus Christi day; they spend the morning of the next day, being the festivall in rings, discoursing of the Fkty, Honesty, and fairenesse of their cause, of liberty and the conyles to gaite it, of seising Traitors, Of bringing Incendendaries, Malignants, and evil instruments to condigne punishment, of the Duke John of Lancaster, who was above all men hated by them, but too far off for the scratches of their claws, being employed in Scotland to create a pease there, whence these report him turned a traitor to the King, and become Scottish; about noone, being warmed more by their cups, than with the Sun, for the richest Wines were drawing for them, and swallowed with that greedinesse, that they were got to the height of drunkennesse and raved like mad men, They are for execution; The Savoy of the Duke of Lancaster, a Princely building, the most stately fabrick of the Kingdome was fired

by them; his Servants there murdered; his Plate and Jewells broke in pieces; a Coat of his of great value (called in that age a Jack) in contempt and scorn to this Prince, was stuck on the top of a Lance, made a mark for their Arrows, they cut and gashed to jagges with their hatchets, one of them who had hid a piece of Plate, was throwing by the sell into the fire with it, crying out, *not by zealom of Truth and Justice, and not Thieves and Robbers.* The Londoners were here no slow men; they knew themselves guilty of receiving, and that their condition could be no worse, they might thinke too, it would be their shame for ever to be overcome in mischief, nor were they here exceeded.

Knight.

The next fiery shower is discharged upon the Temple an Innes of Court, or College for Students of the Lawes of the Nobler sort, but belonging to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, to whom the possessions of the Knights Templars were given by this Kings Grandfather. Many men lost there the evidences of their estates, many their lives. From hence his malice to the Lord Prior, they hasten to *Clerkenwell*, where they leave nothing of that noble Palace of the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem, but rubbidge, and stires, their

was.

their Church too was consumed in the same wicked flames. This house was seaven dayes burning downe. They breake open the Exchequer and *Westminster* the same day. The Flemmings or Dutch strangers, who since the *Jews* were banished, suffer their part in every Sedition, are sought for all the streets through, all of them massacred, no sanctuary could save them, thirteen Flemmings were drawne out of the Church of the Friers Hermits of Saint *Augustine*, and beheaded in the streets, and seaventeen others pulk'd out of another parochiall Church dye in the same manner. They had a *Shibboleth* to discover them, he who pronounced *Brot* and *Cause*, for *Bread* and *Cherise* had his head lopt off; It was their sport if they could catch any man, who had not sworne their *Oath*, was not of the file, or was hated by any of the *Commons*, to snatch off his hood or Capuch (which was a part of the Cloak, or outward garment worne then, and served to cover the head) with the accustomed cry, or yelling which they used in beheading and overthrowing Houses, then to rush in to the streets, and hack with their fellow *Jobernolles*, at his neck in Crowds, till the Head dropped down.

Our most famous *Chaucer* flourishing then,

then, in his description of the terrible
fright, and noyse, at the carrying away of
Chanticleer the Cock by *Reinold* the Fox,
reflects upon these cries, but in an Hyper-
bole of his Poeticall feined ones, and much
undervaluing the horror of the *Kentish*
throats; as he will have it.

They tellen us Friends be in Hell, &c.
So hideous was the noyse, Ah benedick! I
Certaine Jacke. I saw ne his mayney
He made thoutis helte so shrill,
When they would any flouming hill,

The *Lombards* scaped better, they were
onely robbed of what they had, their skins
were left them whole, Was the Idol had
long ago in *France* served *Richard Lyon* a
Merchant, and *Lip-darie*, formerly Sher-
riffe of *London*, one of the wealthiest of
the City, who had given him blowes, it was
not fit this injury should be forgotten, nor
was it; It was a score now, or never to be
paid, he strikes off his old masters head,
which in triumph is carried before him on
a Spear.

This night the King was counselled to
fall upon these beasts, for the most part
drunk, and cut their throats, easie to be de-
stroyed, if any man had had but the courage
to overcome. It was the gallant Mayors
advise; they lay on heaps without sense or
motion; tired with the mischiefs of the

day, drunk and asleep, without Guards or Watch; the Earle of *Salisbury* and the Nobility, against whose Lives, Honours and Fortunes these beasts had conspired, desire the King to try all faire and gentle wayes of appeasing them, which counsell he approves. They were not so kind to themselves; many lost their lives by the hands and swords of their companions; every petty discontent, or grudging being enough to provoke them. Thirty two of them being drunk in a Cellar of the *Savoy*, were immured there, finding in the same place Death and the Grave together. Some of them threw Barrels of Gunpowder (which was little known then) into the fire, and are blown up with part of the Palace.

Proclamations were formerly made in *Tylers* name, not in *Strawes*, (as *Polydore* would have it.) *Straw* was this while busied elsewhere. The Country about was by these Proclamations summoned to repaire to *London* with all speed, to spoyle this *Babylon*; The close menaces (*lest they provoke Gods Judgments*) pluck them down upon their heads, which themselves explain, if ye faile, if ye and your Officers give not obedience freely to the Protector, we will send out 20000 men (20000 of our Locusts) who shall burn the Towns of the chil-

children of disobedience; Those of *S. Albans* and *Barnet* (whose famous deeds challenge a place in this story by themselves) struck with the thunder of this edict, haste to *London*; in their journey thither, at *Hatfield*, a retiring house of the *Loe* *Prior* of *S. John* near *Islington*, they find 20000. or thereabouts, casting down the firmer parts of the house, which the fire could not consume.

Jack Straw Captain of this band, calls these new comers to him, and forces them to swear to adhere to *King Richard*, and the Commons. How long this Oath will be sworn to we shall see, and how much the safer the King will be for it.

○ We shall see too what is lost by this new Union of King and Commons, by the new fellowship, to observe the horrible irreligious hypocrisy of these *Chances* who onely would be thought the *Protectors* of his Crown and Person. They alone had decreed his ruin, who swear thus often to prevent it, to guard him from it; A *Treason* not to be believed by some then till it had taken. The Commons were then divided into three Bodies, the first with *Jack Straw*, the second at *White-hall* under the *Essexian* Princes, *Kirkby*, *Treder*, *Scot*, and *Rogge*, the third on *Tower*.

hill, where the Idoll, and Priest *Baal* were
in chiefe.

This last crue grew horribly rude, and
haughty; the Commons there were not
contented to be the Kings Tasters and no
more, they snatch the Kings provision vi-
olently from the Purveyours, he is to be
starved for his own good, and after. Har-
pies or Vultures, choose you whether, strike
high, like brave birds of prey they will kill
no more Flics, th's was the way to secure
their smaller mischiefs. *Polydore* conceits
that the Archbishop and Lord Prior of *S.
John*, were sent out by the King to allay
their heat, is not probable.

Walsingham relates it thus, That they de-
manded these two (with full cries no
doubt of *Justice, Justice*) with some others
Traitors by their *Law*, (a *Fundamentall*
never to be found or heard of before) to
be given up to them by the King with
all the earnestnesse, and violence imagi-
nable.

They give him his choice, bid him confi-
der of it, they will either have the blood
of these their Traitors or his; they ma-
king all those Delinquents, who attended on
him, or executed his lawfull commands;
whom say they, The King with an high and
forcible hand protests, will not be appraised,
unlesse

Walf. alias
scire
semetipsum
vna piva
dam.

unlesse they be delivered up, conjuring
 him to be wise in time, and *dismiss* his ex-
 traordinary guards, his *Cavaliers*, and others
 of that quality, who seem to have little in-
 vest or affection to the publick good. Whether
 the Tower doores flew open at this fright,
 or the Man-wolfes crowded in, at the
 Kings going out to appeale the party at
Mile-end, as Sir *John Freiffars* tells it, was
 the *Idol* with Priest *Basil* are now masters
 of the Tower, into which on Friday the 16
 of *June* they entred, not many more than
 400 of their company guarding them,
 where then were commanded six hundred
 of the Kings men of Armes, and six hun-
 dred Archers, a *Guard* not so extraordina-
 ry as was necessary then, all so faint-hear-
 ted, so unmannered at the apparition at the
 sight of these *Goblins*, they stood like the
 stones of *Medusa*, remembered not them-
 selves, their honour, nor what they had
 been. The *Clownes*, the most abject of
 them, singly with their Clubs, or Cudgels
 in their hands, venture into all the rooms,
 into the Kings Bed-chamber, (which per-
 haps had been his Scaffold had he been
 there) sit, lie, and rumble upon his Bed,
 they presse into his Mothers Chamber,
 where some of the merry wanton *D-vills*
 offer to kisse her, others give her blows,

Break her head: She swowner, and is car-
ryed privately to the Wardrobe by her
servants; Some revile and threaten the no-
blest Knights of the Household, some stroke
their beards with their uncane hands
(which beyond the Romane patience in
the same rudenesse from the *Gauls* is in-
dured) and this to claw, and sweeten,
(they meant it so) they glose with smooth
words, and bespeak a lasting friendship for
the time to come, they will maintain the
injuries done to themselves, must not dis-
turb the usurers of their Estates and
Rights, must not shew any sense of gene-
rosity, of faith, of honour, (it concerned
Tyler that they should be the veryest fools
and cowards breathing) if they stir, make
any Clames, they shall be reputed sediti-
ous, turbulent, and breakers of the publick
(otherwise and plainly) *Tylers peace*. It
was never heard (sayes the Emperour
Charles in Sleiden) that it should be law-
full to despoile any man of his estates and
rights, and unlawfull to restore him: Our
Tyler and his Anabaptists thought other-
wise.

As *W. Wingham*, they went in and out like
Lords, who were varlets of the lowest
rank, and those who were not Cowherds to
Knights, but to *Beggs*, value themselves
beyond

beyond Lights. Here was a botchpotch of the rabble, a mechanick sordid state composed as those under *Kites* Ouz of *Reformation*, after,

Of Countrey gnoskes, Hob, Dick, and Dick, *Nrulli*
With Clubs, and clouted spoon. *Hum.*

A medley or huddle of Butchers, Coblers, Tinkers, Draymen, of Apron men and Plough-joggers, domineering in the Kings Palace, and rooting up the plants and wholsome flowers of his Kingdome in it; This place was now a vile and nasty sty, no more a Kings Palace, who will value a stately pile of building, of honourable title, or Antique memory, since *Constantine*, when it is infected with the plague, haunted by Goblins, or possessed by Thieves. The knights of the Court, were but knights of the Carpet or Hangings. No man seemed discontented; all was bustle and still. White-hall was then a Bishops Palace, the Tower was to be prepared for *Tylers* highnesse, and his Officers but the Cement of the Stratocracy of the Government by Sword, and Club-Law, could not be well tempered with vulgar blood, a servant of the Arch-bishops (who had trusted himselfe to these Guards and Walls) is forced

Walf. Sa-
cram Com-
munion.

to betray his Lord. He brings them into the Chappell, where the holy Prelat was at his prayers, where he had celebrated Masse that morning before the King, and taken the sacred Communion, where he had spent the whole night in watching and devotion, as presaging what followed.

He was a valiant man and pious, and expected these Blood-hounds with great security, and calmnesse of mind; when their bellowing first struck his ears, He tels his servants that Death came now as a more particular blessing; where the comforts of life were taken away, that life was irksome to him, (perhaps his pious feares for the Church and Monarchy, both alike indangered, and fatally tied to the same chain, might make him weary of the World) and that he could now die with more quiet of conscience than ever, a quiet which these Parricides will not finde when they shall pay the score of this and their other crimes. However the flattery of successe may abuse, our death-bed represents things in their owne shape, and as they are: after this the rout of Wolves enter prophaneely roaring, where is the Traitor where is the Robber of the Com-
mon people? He answers, not troubled at what he saw, or heard.

Yee

Yet are welcome my Sonnes. I am the *Archbishop* whom you seek, neither *Traitor* nor *Rabber*; Presently these Limbs of the Devill griping him with their wicked clutches, teare him out of the Chappell, neither reverencing the *Altar*, nor *Cross*, figured on the top of his *Crosier*, nor the *Host*; (these are the Monkes observations, for which he condemnes them in the highest impiety, and makes them worse than *Divells*, and as Religion went then, well he might condemne them so.) They dragge him by the Armes and hood to Tower hill without the Gates, there they howle hideously, which was the signe of a mischief to follow.

He asks them what it is they purpose, what is his offence, tells them he is their *Archbishop* (this makes him guilty, all his eloquence, his Wisdome are now of no use,) he adds the murder of their Sovereigne *Pastour* will be severely punished, some notorious vengeance will suddenly follow it. These destroyers will not trouble themselves with the idle formality of a mock trial or Court of their own erecting, an abominable Ceremony, which had made their impiety more ugly, they proceed down right, and plainly, which must be instead of all things, He is commanded to lay

lay his neck upon the block, as a false traitour to the *Commonalty* and *Realm*: To deale roundly, his life was forfeited, and any particular charge, or defence would not be necessary, his enemies were his Accusers, and Judges, (his enemies who had combined and sworne to abolish his order, the Church, and Spoile the sacred patrimony) and what innocency, what defence could save? Without any reply farther, he forgives the Heads-man, and bowes his Body to the Axe.

*Ab, ab,
miserere
Domini.*

After the first hit, he touches the wound with his hand, and speaks thus, *It is the Hand of the Lord*. The next stroke falls upon his hand, ere he could remove it, and cuts off the tops of his fingers, after which he fell, but died not till the eight blow, his body lay all that day unburied, and no wonder, all men were thoroughly scared, under the tyranny of these Monasters, all Humanity, all Piety, were most unsafe.

Walf.

The Archbishop dyed a Martyr of loyalty to his King, and has his * miracles Recorded, an honour often bestowed by Monks (friends of *Rogicides*, and *Rogicides*) on Traitours, seldome given to honest men. In his *Epitaph* (his rising *Epitaph*, where is shewn the pitifull ignorant rudeness of those times)

he goes for no less, he speaks thus

*Sadburia natus Simon jacet hic simulatus,
Martyrizatus nec pro republica Stratus.*

Sadburia Simon here intomb'd lies,

Who for the Commonwealth a Martyr dies.

It is fit (says *Plato*) that he who would appear a just man, become naked; that his virtue be despoiled of all ornament; that he be taken for a wicked man by others (wicked indeed) that he be mocked, and hanged. The wisest of men tell us, † There † *Eccles. 7.*
is a just man that periseth in his righteousness,
† 25. nestle, and there is a wicked man that pro-
longeth his life in his wickedness. The
Seas are often calms to Pirates, and the
scourges of God, the execrations of his
fury, the *Goths*, *Hunnes*, and *Vandals* here-
tofore, *Tartars* and *Turkes*; now, how hap-
py are their Robberies, how doe all things
succeed with them beyond their wish: —
Our Saviours Passion, the great mysterie of
his Incarnation lost him to the Jewes his
Murderers. Whereupon *Grassius* notes, It
is often permitted by God, that pious men
be not onely vexed by wicked men, but
murdered too — He gives examples in
Abel, *Isaiab*, and others, the *MASSEAN*
died

*Grat. Sape
2 die per-
mitti, ut pili
ab impijs
non viderentur
turbati sed
in se firmi.*

died for the sins of the world, *Eschellert* and Saint *Edmund* the East-Angles, Saint *Oswald* the Northumbrian, Saint *Edward* the Monarch, &c. Saxon Kings, are examples at home.

Thucydides in his narration of the defeat and death of *Nicias* the Athenian in *Syracuse*, speaks thus: *Being the man who of all the Grecians of my time had least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery.* It is too frequent to proclaim Gods Judgments in the misfortunes of others, as if we were of the Celestiall Conncell, had seen all the Wheels, or Orbs, upon which Providence turns, and knew all the reasons and ends which direct and govern its motions: men love by a strange abstraction to separate Facts from their Crimes; where the fact is beneficiall, the advantage must canonize it, it must be of heavenly offspring, a way to justify *Cain*, *Abimelech*, *Phocas*, our third *Richard*, *Ravillac*, every lucky parricide whatsoever.

Alexander Severus that most excellent Emperour assassinated by the Multitude or Souldiery, by an ill fate of the Commonwealth (for *Maximinus* a Thracian or Goth, Lieutenant General of the Army, a cruel Savage tyrant, by force usurped the Empire after him) Replied, to one who pretended

pretended to foretell his end; That it troubled him not, the most renowned persons in all ages die violently. This gallant Prince condemned no death but a dishonest fearfull one. Heaven it self declared on the Archbishops side, and cleared his innocency. *Starling of Essex* who challenged to himselfe the glory of being Heads man, fell mad suddenly after, ran through the Villages with his Sword hanging naked upon his brest, and his Digger naked behinde him, came up to *London*, confest freely the fact, and lost his head there; As most of those did, who had laid their hands upon this Archbishop, coming up severally out of their Countreies to that City, and constantly accusing themselves for the Parricide of their spirituall Father. Nothing was now unlawfull, there could be no wickednesse after this; They make more examples of barbarous cruelty under the name of Justice.

Robert Lord Prior of *St. John*, and Lord Treasurer of *England*, *John Leg*, or *Laige* one of the Kings serjants at Armes, a *Franciscan*, a Physician belonging to the Duke of *Lancaster* (whom perhaps they hated because they had wronged his Master) a Friar *Carmelite*, the Kings Confessor were murdered there in this fury.

Whole

Whose heads with the Archbishops, were borne before them through *London* streets; and advanced over the *Bridge*.

This while the *King* was softning the Rebels of *Essex* at *Mile-end*, with the *Barons* of *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, and *Oxford*, and other *Lords*. Thither by Proclamation he had summoned them, as presuming the *Essexians* to be the more civilized, and by much the fairer enemies; as indeed they were. There he promises to grant them their desires, *Liberty*, *precious Liberty* is the thing they ask, this is given them by the *King*, but on condition of good behaviour. They are to cease their burning, and destruction of Houses, to return quietly to their homes, and offend no man in their way. Two of every Village were to stay as Agents behinde for the *King's* Charters, which could not be got ready in time. Farther the *King* offers them his *Banners*.

Proff.

Some of the were simple, honest people, of no ill meaning, who knew not why the Garboils were begun; nor why they came thither. These were won, and win others; without more stir those of *Essex* returne whence they came. *Tyler* and *Baal* are of another spirit, they would not part so easily, *Tyler* the future *Monarch*, who had designed

designed an Empire for himselfe, and who now, *sceleribus suis ferax atque praelatus* famous for his villainies and haughty, would not put up so, he and his K. stiffe rabble tarry. The next day being Saturday the 17 of June, was spent as the other dayes of their tyranny, in Burning, Ruining houses, Murthers, and Depopulations.

The night of this day the Idol and his Priest upon a new resolution; intended to have struck at the neck of the Nation, to have Murthered the King (*the Achan of the Tribes,*) probably by betraying, the death these parricides had used hitherto, the Lords, Gentlemen, the wealthiest and honestest part of the Citizens, then to have pillaged their Houses, and fired the City in foure parts, they intended this last to avoid odious partnership in the exploit, and that those of *Norfolke, Suffolke,* and other parts might not share in the spoils. This Counsell of destruction was against all policy, more profit might have been made of this City by *Excise, Assessment, and Taxes* upon the Trade, Tyler might sooner have enriched himselfe, and have been as secure. Estate makes men lofty, feare and poverty, if we may trust *Machiavel*, bend and supple, every man had been in danger,

danger and obnoxious to him, one *Chenoweth* had awed a street. Near the Abby Church at *Westminster*, was a Chappell with an image of the Virgin *Mary*. this Chappell was called the Chappell of our Lady, in the Piew it stood near the Chappell of *S. Steph.* since turned from a Chappell to the Parliament house, here our Lady then (who would not believe it) did great miracles. *Richards* preservation at this time was no small one, being in the hands of the multitude, let loose, and enraged. There he makes his vowes of safety, after which he rides towards these Sonnes of perdition under the Idol *Tylor*.

Tylor, who meant to consume the day in Cavills, protests to those who were sent by the King to offer those of *Kent* the same peace, which the *Essex* *Clowes* had accepted, That he would willingly embrace a good and honest Peace, but the Propositions or Articles of it were only to be dictated by himselfe. He is not satisfied with the Kings Charters, Three draughts are presented to him, no substance, no forme would please, he desires an accommodation, but he will have Peace, and *stop together*. He exclaims that the liberty there is deceitfull, but an empty name. that while the King talks of liberty, he is actually buying Warre,

Warre, setting up his Stafford against his Commons, that the good Commons are abused to their owne ruine, and to the miscarriage of the great undertaking, that they have with infinite paines and labour acquainted the King with their humble desires, who refuses to joyne with them, misled, and carried away by a few evil and rotten-headed Lords and Delinquents, contrary to his Coronation Oath; by which he is obliged to passe all Lawes offered him by the Commons (whose is the Legislative power is) which deniall of his if it be not a forfeiture of his trust and office (both which are now uselesse) it comes neere it, and he is fairly dealt with; if he be not deposed, which too might be done without any want of modesty or duty, and with the good of the Commonwealth, The happinesse of the Nation not depending on him, & any of the Regall Branches. I will deliver the Nation from the Norman slavery, and the world (sayes he) of an old silly superstition, That Kings are directly the Tenants of Heaven, obnoxious to God alone, cannot be condemned and punished by any power else, I will make: here he lieth not, an wholesome President to the World; formidable to all tyrannies, I declare, That Richard Plantagenet, or Richard of Bordeaux, at this time is not in [a condition to] govern,

Whose heads with the Archbishops, were borne before them through *London* streets, and advanced over the Bridge.

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govern,

governs; I will make no addresses, no applications to him, nor receive any from him, though I am but a dry bone, too unworthy for this great calling, yet I will finish the work, I will settle the Government without the King, and against him, and against all that take part with him. which sufficiently justifies our Arms. God with Us, sayes he, owns them, success manifestly the righteousness of our cause, this is (sayes he) the voyce of the people, by us their Representative, and our Counsell. After the Vote of no more Addresses, which with all their other Votes of transgressions were to be styled the resolution of the whole Realm; and while he swells in this ruffle, Sir John Newton a Knight of the Court, is sent to intreat rather than invite him to come to the King then in Smith-field; where the Idols Regiments were drawn up, and treat with him, concerning the additional Provisions he desired to be inserted into the Charter.

No observance was omitted which might be thought pleasing to his Pride (which a pride was infinitely puffing.) Flattery was sweet to him, and he had enough of it, that made him bow a little when nothing else could doe it. We may judge at the unreasonableness of all his demands, and supplies of new Articles out of his in-

stru:

struement, by one: He required of the King a Commission to impower himselfe and a Committee teame of his owne choosing, to cut off the heads of Lawyers and Benchers, and of all those, who by reason of their knowledge, and place were any way imployed in the Law. He fancied if those who were learned in the Law, were knocked ith'head, all things would be ordered by the common people, either there would be no law, or that which was should be declared by him and his, subject to their will, with which his expression the day before did well agree; Then, attributing all things to God (the God of Warre) and his conquering Armes, and striking his Sword (which shewed the present power) on *London-stone*.

The *Cyclops*, or Centaur of *Kent* spake *Walsingh.* these words: From this day (or within four dayes) all Law (or all the Lawes of *Engl.* as others) shall fall from *Was Tylers* mouth. The Kings indeed had bound themselves, and were bound by the Lawes. They were named in them. *Tyler* was more than a King, he was an Emperour, he was above the Lawes; nor was it fit the old overworn *Magna Charta* should hold him. The supreme Authority and legislative power (no one knowes how derived)

* Potius
gladiator
quam sena-
tor.

were to be, and reside in him, according to the new establishment, Tyler like *Homerus Mars*, *λαίλαπις* *ἱσθ* was a whirlwinde, he was * *Egnatius in Paterculus* rather a Fencer, a Swash buckler than a Senatour, his right A me, his brutish force, not Justice, not reason must sway all things, Tyler will not rule in fetters, his will, his violence shall be called Law, and grievous slavery under that will, falsely peace. Had those, whom no government never so sweet, and gracious will please, unlesse the *Supreme power* be given the people, seen the confusions and dangers, the cruelty and tyranny of these few dayes, they would quickly have changed this opinion.

The Knight performes his Embassy, he urges the Idol with great earnestness to see the *King* and speedily. He answers, if thou beest so much for hast, get thee back to the *King* thy Master, I will come when I list, yet he followes the Knight on Horse-back, but slowly. In the way, he is met by a Citizen, who had brought sixty doublets for the Commons, upon the *Publique Faith*. This Citizen asks him for his mony, he promises payment before night, & presses on so near the *King* that his horse touched the croupe of the *Kings* horse.

Froissart reports his discourse to the
King,

King, Sir *King* (sayes the Idol) seest thou yonder people? The *King* answers yes, and askes him what he meanes by the question. He replies, they are all at my command, have sworne to me Faith, and Truth, to doe what I will have them. He and they had broke their Faith and truth to their Prince, and he thinkes these men will be true to him. Here though it be a digression too much, I cannot omit a passage of the late Civill Warres of *France*, begun and continued by the Jesuited party to extir- *D'Avila*. pate the royall Family there.

Villers, Governour of *Rouen* for the holy League, tells the Duke of *Magen* Capitaine Generall of the Rebellion, That he would not obey him; they were both companions and spoilers of the State together: The King being levelled, all men else ought to be equall.

The Idol, as he that demanded (so the Knight) nothing but Riot, continues his discourse (thus) Believest thou *King*, that these people will depart without thy Letters? The *King* tells him, He means fairly, that he will make good his word, his Letters are neare finished, and they shall have them. But the glory of the Idol (which was merely the benefit of fortune) began to fade, his principall y was too

etuell, too violent to be lasting. Vengeance here hovered over his head, and he who had been the destruction of multitudes hastens, nay precipitates his own fate, and ruins himself by his own fury, he puts himself into the *Kings* power, who should in his first trowing had he been wisely wicked, like a Vulture of the Game, have flown at his throat. * The judicious politique will not begin to give over; However, will never venture himself in the *Princes* hands whom he has justly offended by treasons against his government.

† In magnis
principium
injuris non
incipitur ut
defistatur.

† Grand
fope Com.

† *Charles of Burgundy* confesses this to be a great folly; his Grandfather *Philip* lost his life at *Monfereau* upon the *Yonne* by it, and our Idoll shall not escape better.

Sir *John Newton* the Knight employed to fetch him, delivered his message on horseback, which is now remembred, and taken for an high neglect; besides, it seemeth the carriage and words of the Knight were not very pleasing. Every trifle in omission was treason to the Idol's person, and *new flattery*. He railes foulely, drawes his Dagger, and bellowing out, *Traitor*, menaces to strike the Knight, who returns him in exchange the lie; and not to be behinde in blowes, drawes his: This the Idol takes
for

for an intolerable affront, but the King fearfull of his servant, cooles and allwages the heat; he commands the Knight to dismount, and offer up his Dagger to the Idol, which (though unwillingly) was done.

This would not take off his edge: The Prince who yeilds once to a Rebells, shall finde heaps of requests, and must deny nothing. The *King* had given away his *Knights* Dagger: now nothing will content *Tyler* but the *Kings* Sword, with which the *Militia* or power of Armes impliedly was fought. This he asks, then againe rushes upon the *Knight*, vowing never to eat till he have his Head.

When the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdome, whom neither necessity nor misery could animate, lie downe trampled on by these Villaines without Soule, or motion; In comes the Major of *London*, Sir *William Walworth*, the everlasting honour of the Nation, a man who over-did ages of the *Roman Scavola*, or *Curtii* in an hours action & snatches the *King* & Kingdome out of these flames. He tells the *King* it would be a shame to all posterity to suffer more insolencies from this Hangman, this lump of bloud. This the rest of the Courtiers now wakened by their owne danger,

danger, (For he who destroyes one man contrary to Law or Justice, gives all men else reason to feare themselves and take heed) are echoes to. This puts daring into the young *King*; he resolves to hazard all upon this chance; This way he could not but die kingly, at least, like a Gentleman, with the Sword, which God (of whose great Majesty he was a beam) gave him in his hand. The onely way left to avoid a shamefull death, was to run the danger of a brave one, and a wise coward (I will not say an honourable one) considering the uncertainty of things under that Iron socage Tenure would think so.

The *King* commands the Major to arrest the Butcher: This was charge enough, and rightly understood, indeed there was then no time for forme nor tryall, the suspension of the Courts was *Tylers* act, his crime, and he ought not to look for any advantage from it; an Historian sayes the Duke of *Guyse's* power was so much, that the ordinary formes of Justice could not be observed; faire Law is handsome, but it is not to be given to Wolves and Tygers, *Tylor* was a traytour, a common enemy; and against such (sayes a Father long agoe) every man is a Souldier; whosoever struck too, struck as much in his owne defence,

Grot. Jur.
 2. lib. 1. c. 1.
 §. 4.

defence, in his owne preservation, as the Kings: and the safety of the King and People made this course necessary, besides, *Tylers* crimes were publick and notorious.

The generous Lord Major obeyes the sentence, which was given by the same power, by which the Judges of Courts sate and acted, when Justice flowed down from the fountaine in the ordinary channell, and which the damme head being thus troubled by this Wolfe, could flow no otherwise, which was authority sufficient; by this power *Richards* Captaines must fight when he has them, and kill those whom the Courts of Justice cannot deal with: *Tyler* faints, and shrinkes to what he had beene, he was as cowardly as cruell, and could not seem a man in any thing but that he was a thief, and a rebell: he asks the brave Major in what he was offended by him; This was a strange question to an honest man, he finds it so. *The Major* (sayes *Fraissart*) calls him false stinking knave, and tells him he shall not speake such words in the presence of his naturall Lord the King. The Major answers in full upon the accursed Sacrilegious Head of the Idol with his Sword. He struck heartily, and like a faithfull zealous subject. *Dagon of the Clowns*
sinks

sinks at his feet. The *Kings* followers environ him round, *John Standish* an Esquire of the Court, alights, and runs him into the belly, which thrust sent him into another World, to accompany him who taught Rebellion, and murder first. Event was then no signe of a good cause.

All History now brands him for a Traitor, which by some will be attributed to his miscarriage: without doubt had he prospered in the *Works*, he had had all the honours which goe along with prosperity. The *King* had beene the wrong doer, and his afflictions, if nothing in so much youth could have beene found out, had beene crimes; we must overpower those whom we would make guilty. *Henry* the great of *France* under the *Popes* interdict, is told by a Gentleman, Sir, if we be overcome, we shall dye condemned hereticks, if your Majesty conquer, the censures shall be revoked, they will fall of themselves. He who reads the mischiefs of his usurpation will thinke he perished too late.

Now I come to an Act of *Richards*, the most glorious of his History, which the *Annals* past can no where parallel, here his infancy excells his after man-hood. Here, and in the gallantry of his death he appeares a full Prince, and perhaps vies with

ut rem sit
vincendus
est.

with all the bayes of his usurpers triumphs.

Alexander the Monarch of the world, (Not more wondered at for his victories, then for that suppressing the Sedition of his *Macedons* in *Asia*, tired, and unable to march, whither his ambition carried him on wings) leaps from his Throne of State, into the Battels of his *Phalanges* enraged, Seizes thirteene of the chiefe malecontents, and delivers them to the custody of his Guards. *Curtius* knowes not what he should impute this amazement of the Seditious to, every man returning upon it to his old duty, and obedience, and ready to yeild himselfe up into the same hands: it might be (sayes he) The veneration of the Majesty of *Kings*, which the Nations submitted under, worship equally with the Gods, or of himselfe which laid the tempest. That confidence too of the Duke *Alessandro* of *Parma*, in a mutiny of the *German* Reiters at *Namures* is memorable, who made his way with his Sword alone through the points of all their Lances, into the midst of their Troops, and brought thence by the collar one of the Mutineers, whom he commanded to be hang'd to the terrour of the rest. The youth of *Richard* begat rather contempt, than reverence,

renes, of which too these *Clowns* breasts were never very full: When the fall of the Idol was known to the rout, they put themselves into a posture of defence, thunder out nothing but vengeance to the King and his, whom they now arraign of Murder and Tyranny: He is guilty of *Innocent blood*; a *Tyrant*, a *Traitour*, an *Homicide*, the *publique Enemy of the Common Wealth*. Richard Plantagenet is indicted in the name of the people of England, of treason, and other heynous crimes. He is now become lesse than *Tylers Ghost*, a *Traitour* to the *Freeborne people*.

Walsingh.
Capitaneus
pater.

His treason was, he would not destroy himselfe, he would not open his body to *Tylers* full blow. They roare out, our *Captaine Generall* is slaine treacherously, let us stand to it, and revenge his precious blood, or die with him: I cannot passe this place without some little wonder; had these *Ruffians* (with whom Kings hedged about by holy Scripture, and Lawes humane, are neither divine nor sacred) beene asked whether *Tyler* the Idol, of their own clay and hands, might have been tryed, touched or struck, according to their representing this blow here: let his tyrannies, his exorbitances have beene what they would, they would have answer'd no doubt

in the negative :^a Though *Richard* might have been struck thorough and thorough, *Tyler* who had usurped his power, must have been sacred, it must have been treason to touch him : *Phocas* must not be hurt : in *Tyler's* case *Straw* would allow the old texts againe: The powers were to be obeyed. Their bowes were drawne when the *King* gallops up to them alone, and riding round the throng, asks them, What madness it was that armed them thus against their own peace, and his life, whether they would have no end of things or demands.

He tells them if *Liberty* be their onely aim, as hitherto they have pretended, they may assure themselves of it, and that it is an extreme folly to seek to make that our owne with the breach of Faith, of Lawes, with impieties, violating God and Man, which we may come by fairely. But they trod not the path to *Liberty*, That where every man commands, no man can be free; the *Liberty* too they fancy cannot be had, the world cannot subsist without Order and Subjection, men cannot be freed from Lawes : If they were, there could be no society, no civility any where, Men must be shunned as much as Wolves or Beares, rapine and bloud-shed would over-run the world, the spoyler must feare the next comer,

comer, like savage beasts, who hurt others; and know not it is ill to hurt them, men would devour men, the stronger Thiefe would swallow up the rest; no Relations would be sacred, where every man has the power of the Sword, the aged sire (could there be any such) must defend his silver haire from the unnaturall violence of his own Sons.

He addes, if there can be any just cause of Sedition, yet is the Sedition unjust which outlasts it, which continues, when the cause is yeilded to, and taken away; that if his Prerogative has beene sometimes grievous, his tax's heavy, and any of those they call evill Counsellours faulty, they ought to remember, in their first risings, and all along in all their *Oathes*, and *Covenants* they swore continually not to invade the Monarchy, not touch the Rights of his free Crowne. You ought to remember your own Remonstrances; you once declared, that you acknowledged the Maxim of the Law, *The King can doe no wrong*; If any ill be committed in matters of State, the Counsellors; if in matters of Law, the Judges must answer for it.—My person was not to be violated. He expects they should deale with him, as the honest Husbandman does in overflows of Waters, who clears and

and drains his ground, repaires the banks, but does not usurp upon the streame, does not inhance within the Channell; And farther that quarrels to his Government and Lawes are unreasonable from those, who out of ambition aime to overthrow both, that reformation is not the worke of Sedition, which ever disorders what is well settled. He conjures them to forsake these furies, who, sayes he, abuse their lightness meerey for their owne ends, whose companions or masters they were lately, now are they but their Gaards, and that if they refuse a subjection according to all Lawes Divine and humane to his Scepter, they must become slaves and tributaries to their Iron, to the Flailes and Pitchforkes of some Mushrome of their owne dirt, and that advancing their Mushrome, thus upon his power by the wayes of force, gives an example to the next tumults against themselves.

There can be no safety for any new power raised upon this force, the obedience to that upon these Rules being limited, and annexed to the force, and success, and to yeild, and give way to the next power visible which shall overbear it. A way to thrust a Nation into a state of War, continuall perjury and impiety to the Worlds

*Non est
diuturna
possessio in
quam gladi-
o induis
mur. Curt.*

Worlds end. This Realm (as he goes on) is my inheritance, which I tooke possession of after the death of my Grand-father being a child, and did I claime onely by your gift (which I shall never grant) yet are not you free, to make a new choice, you are bound to me by *Oathes* and *Compacts*, and no right of new compliance, or submission can be left you to transerre. He concludes, That despair was a dangerous sinne, which would drive them head-long to destruction ; That whatsoever their offences had been, they were not above his mercy.

He bids them not trouble themselves for *Tyler*, a base fellow, who thrust them into dangers, and blew them into a storme to raise himselfe upon the billowes, upon the ruines of his Country. He promises to lead them, he will be their Captaine, if they will follow him he will please them in all their desires. This he saies, to draw them off farther into *Smithfield*, fearing they would againe fall to burning of houses. They now wanted their Devill, who possessed them, and being in doubt whether they should kill the *King*, or returne home with his Charters, there being no incendiary to command, follow the *King* in suspence ; *Baal* and *Straw* about this time amazed at
the

the Idols fall, lose courage and slip away. In the meane time the stout Major spurres to the City with one servant, where in a few words he acquaints the Citizens with the Kings perill and his owne, and requests their sudden assistance, if not for himselfe, for the King, who (sayes he) is in danger now to be murdered. Some loyall hearts, some good men of the Kings party arme, *Wals.* and joyn, to the number of one thousand, *Wals.* and range themselves in the street, expecting some of the Cavaliers, of the Kings Knights to conduct them, resolved either to overcome, or not to feare the Conquerours.

Sir *Robert Knowles*, a renowned Commander in the French Warres of the Kings Grandfather (called falsely *Canol* by *Polydor*, and others) undertakes this charge. Sir *Perdicke D'Albret* (called *D'Albret*) a noble Gascoigne and a Commander too in those Warres, *Nicholas Brembre* the Kings Draper, and other Aldermen come in with their Levies, and march to the King in fight of the Rebels. There the King Knights the brave *Wils. Walworth*, *John Standish*, one of his Esquires, *Nicholas Brembre*, *John Philpot*, (a most generous Citizen, famous for his faithfull service to his Prince in the times succeeding)

and others. The Nobility about the King desire him to strike off an hundred or two of the Clowns heads, in revenge of the injuries and infamy they had received from them. Sir Robert Knowles would have him fall on, and cut them all to pieces. The King dislikes both these counsels; He says many of these unhappy men were awed to fide, without either malice to his Person or Power; and that if the first advise were taken, the most innocent might be punished, and the guilty scape; If the second, the very Rebel and the Counterfeit (the forced one) must be swallowed up together, which was high injustice. Yet were there many of these Rebels called to account, and their acts of blood, rapine and burning cost them deare; but these acts of theirs done against Law, were punished legally, upon the finding of Juries, when the Tumults were composed: Which was faire and handsome, and shewes the honourable justice of our King. All that was done against them that night was, to forbid the Citizens by Proclamation to entertain any of these men in the City, or communicate with them; and to command all men who had not dwelt there for one yeare before, to depart:

So farre was the young King from approving

proving the cruelty of the late counsellors; that in the next place, he causes the Charters, which he had promised them to be delivered; yet some may suppose this but a pardon of shew, and the pardon-piece of the Charters, as well as the other part, rather a piece of policy than any thing else, the Countreies being yet tumultuous, the Clownes were upon their good behaviours, that was a condition of their pardon, which they would not observe, they commit new outrages, break the Kings Laws, & pluck down the vengeance of Justice upon their heads afresh, they did not give over their mischiefs after their return sayes, *Wals.* By the King and his Counsell, the Charters, as extorted out of force, and necessity were recalled; and though the Mayne generally were pardoned, the King (again provoked) staid but for a fit time to take vengeance on the Ring-leaders, and punish particular offenders who could not be forgiven: It being necessary in so desperate a Revolt for the terrour of others, to make examples of some such malicious disturbers of the peace, as would never have been reclaimed. The Kings Charters contained a Manumission of the Villains, and abolition of the memory of what was past for the rest. The tenor, sayes *Walsingham*

ham, of the Charters extorted from the King by force, was this, (he gives us onely that of *Hartfordshire* the Province of his Monastery,)

** Ab omni
bondagio.*

Richard by the Grace of God King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, to all his Bailies, and others his trusty, to whom these Letters shall come greeting. Know yee that we of our speciall grace have made free all our Lieges, and every of our subjects of *Hartfordshire*, and we free those, and every of them from all ** bondage*, and quit them by these presents, and also we pardon the same our Lieges, and subjects, for all Felonies, Treasons, Trespases, and extortions by them, or any of them in any wise done, or committed, and also every Outlary, or Outlaries, if any against them, or any of them, are or shall be published, and our full peace to them or any of them, therefore we grant, in witnesse whereof these our Letters we have caused to be made Patents. Witnesse our selfe at London the 15. day of June, the 4th yeare of our Reigne.

This

This Charter was granted about the time the *Clownes* of *Essex* disbanded, and received theirs, it was brought into *Hampfordshire* to Saint *Albanes* by *Wallingford* one of the Towne; * Friday sayes *Walsingham* the day of tribulation, &c. *Illustration: in die Venetis.* (which was the 16 of June) the Townsmen of Saint *Albanes* being at the time of Matines acquainted by those of *Barnet* with the command of the Ordinance or Act for repairing to *London* presently with the Esquires of the Abbot let forth; So that I conceive the day of this Charter is mistaken in it by the Monke.

The *Clownes* throw down their Armes at the Kings feet, sue for mercy, and deliver up their chiefs; the principall of which; Priest *Straw* was after drawne from his hiding holes, and laid hold of by the Kings Officers. What became of them we shall see below, in the visitation made by the King, and his Ministers, through the Provinces in uproare.

The Commons of *Kent* now scatter and dissolve, the heads of the Archb:shop, Lord Prior, and the rest, are taken down from the bridge, and the Idols advanced there; That *Baal* should now be taken in an old house is an errour of the Knights; *Baal* *Triff.* Co. must take his turn, but he shall have a long-

ger runne for it. That the dagger should
now be given in honour of Sir *William*
Walsworth as an addition to the City armes
is Fabulous, this dagger is the Sword of St.
Paul, and was borne by the City when *Ty-*
ler was living.

The King now rides to *Westminster*
where he gives God thanks for his de-
liverance, and presents his offering to the
Virgin *Mary*, in her Chappell of the Pieow,
next he visits the Princesse mother in the
Tower Royall, called the Queenes War-
drobe, and bids her rejoyce, for (sayes he)
this day I have recovered mine heritage,
the Realme of *England* near lost, the Lords
returne to their owne houses. The other
Countries now in combustion, and upon
their march to *London*, make halt, they
were thunder-strucken at the disaster of the
Idol, they hated the fortune not the wic-
kednesse of that monster, And tarry to
poure out those plagues at home, if they be
not checked, which before they intended
to carry farther off. The example and suc-
cesse of the Idol had moved with many,
but his invitation, and sollicitation by the
Emissaries of this confederacy and spirit
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was thus buſied in the chiefe ſeat of his new Dominions) promote the cauſe, and purſue the inſtructions of the Prince of Devils, they were all to tread his ſteps, as we ſhall finde in what followes.

I have before ſpoken of the Summons of the I'ol to fetch the bordering rogues into the *Line of Communication*, who were to ſerve as Auxiliaries onely, to ſtrengthen Tyler, rather than to enrich themſelves, and likely to be caſhured, and caſt off when he had perfected his *Works*: amongſt theſe rake hells were the Townſ-men of *Saint Albane* with the *Abbot's* ſervants ſhuffled in the throng of purpoſe to overſee and awe the *Clowns* from the new fangles of our fanaticks; Theſe as is related, were ſworne to the *Engagement at Heibury*; whence they come to *London*, whither they are no ſooner got, but the Townſ men ſeparate from the ſervants of the Monastery, and in *St. Mary-bow Church* does their profane Conventicle conſult how to make advantage of the tumult.

The ſewd
pranks of
the Clowns
at Saint
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And what pretences of revolt from their Lord *Abbot* would ſeem moſt faire, and taking. Here they make not the cauſes of their diſobedience, they were hatched ſecretly amongſt themſelves, they deliberate how to perfect things, how to come

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to effects. The enlarging the bounds of their common free fishing, hunting in certaine places, when they pleased, and Hand-mills, that the Bailly of the Liberty shall no more meddle within the Precincts of the Towne, the revocation of Charters per judicijall to the Free-borne Burgessees, cancelling the Bonds of their Fore-fathers made to *Abbat Richard*, are the Propositions first voted.

One, who would be wiser than the rest, perswades them not to attempt things rashly, and giddily, without authority, he tells them that *Wat Tyler*, *Protector* and *Captaine Generall* of the *Clownes* was near, that the *Protector*, was a righter of wrongs raised, and inspired by providence to redeeme the faithfull *Commons* from the thraldome of the wicked, *At the suite of the godly party*, sayes he, *Tyler* has accepted the Government, he is to govern the two Nations; The *Supreme executive Power* resides in him, from him (sayes he) and from the keepers of the liberties let us seek for remedy.

Let us make our addresses to him, let us seeke to his *Hignesse* for power, and Commision; Thus he said (as *Walsingham* writes) supposing a greater than *Tyler* should not be seene in the Kingdome, that

Tyler

Wals.
Ducem ri-
haldorum,
ut accepta
ab eo pote-
stat, &c.

Tylers greatness, for the time to come
 would only be eminent; That the Lawes ^{was}
 of the Land (the most antient English,
 Saxon Lawes), would be of no force, of no
 validity, because the most of the Lawyers
 were already murdered, and the rest in
 their account not long lived, the Axes edge
 was turned towards them. He concludes,
 let us returne home, and in the puissance of
Wat, and our selves, force the *Abbot* to
 reason; If he deny our requests, we will
 awe him with burning and demolishing
 the Monastery, with killing the Monks,
 we will threaten not to leave one stone up-
 on another, Others conceive it more safe
 to petition the King (who might be spoken
 with by every man, and durst refuse no-
 thing) for his Letters under the Privy Seale,
 commanding the *Abbot*, to restore to the
 Towns-men the rights, and Liberties which
 their ancestors enjoyed in the time of
 King *Henry* the first, as if the English
 Church had bene lately indowed, the Mo-
 nasteries founded, their Royalties, Liber-
 ties, Priviledges granted by the *Norman*
 Princes, than which nothing could be more
 false. The most Christian Saxon Kings of
 blessed memory, twelve of which died
 Martyrs of the Faith, ten shine glorious
 Stars in the Calender of Saints, were all
 nursing

burying Fathers of the Church, scarcely was there one in the illustrious rolls, who gave not Lands and Possessions with Exemptions, and Immunities to the Church, who erected not Bishopricks, or Monasteries into which thirty of our crowned heads, *Kings*, or *Queens* entred, the supposition of the ages then ought not to blemish their Piety: The *Mercian* King *Offa*, his Son *Egfrid*, King *Ethelred*, King *Edward* are the founders and donors of *St. Albans* what King *Henry* the first did for the Towne I cannot say, nor how ample its Liberties were then, this is true, he confirms the grants of the *Saxon* Princes, to the Monastery, and adds the *Norman* seale to strengthen the *Saxon* Croises, this is all, but truth is not necessary in such uproares, the credulity of a light headed multitude is quickly abused, their duty and obedience easily corrupted without it.

All these grants end with horrible curses against Sacrilege.

To keepe our way; Roth these Counsels are approved. *William Greyndcob* an *Hinde*, who had eaten the breade of the Monastery for the most part of his life, is elected with others, and sent on this errand to the King, before whom he kneeles six times out of zeale to prevaile. This *Lob* too was made principall Prolocutor (sayes *Walsgh.* our Monk) or Speaker to the Idol: before whose

whose fardid Excellency and his uncl- and
Councell he complaines of the grievous ty-
ranny of the Abbot and Prior, (some few
Monks are thrust in to make up the num-
ber) of the oppressures of the Commons,
of withholding the wages of poor Labou-
rers, the design was to rowle the Wolfe.

Tyler meant not to leave London, yet
he promises, if need be, to send twenty
thousand of the *Jacks*, who shall not fail
to shave the beards of the Abbot and the
rest, which signified (in plain English) cut-
ting off their heads.

The gracious *Captaine General* was yet
more kind; he vowed, if it be convenient,
to assist them in his own person. He gives
them directions and orders to govern
themselves by, and makes their obedience
here, a condition of his love. These Or-
ders were generally enjoined by our En-
glish *Mahomet*, through all the Provinces
of his Conquest, and were framed accor-
ding to the Law of his bloody *Alchuran*.
He swears them to omit nothing either in
his Commands or Doctrine. A servant of
the Abbot, one of the spies upon the Towns-
men, rides in full career to *S. Albans*, and
gives intelligence to the Abbie of the ex-
ploits of the New Masters at London. He
tells them in what manner that div of a
Captaine

Captaine (Tyler) fullyed and polluted with the blond of the Nobleſſe, had butchered the Engliſh Patriarch, and the Lord Treasurer. That *London*, the den of theſe ravenous beaſts, falſly called *The Chamber of her Kings*, was likely now to become the Charnelhouſe of *Richard*, and his Loyall vaffals; That theſe Fiends, who would goe for *Saints*, and the onely good *Patriarchs* commit the acts of Thieves, and Murthers, neither reverencing Religion nor Lawes: And that the Conquering French, who makes faire war, nay the barbarous Scot, broke out of the faſtneſſe of his owne Deſart, mortall enemies of the Nation, could not ſpoile nor ruine with more cruelty and villanie. No Mercy, ſayes he, (yeild who will upon mercy) no favour, no goodneſſe can be expected from this rout of Wolves. He bids thoſe pointed at, and named by *Greyncock* to *Tyler*, ſhift for themſelves, which they are not long in reſolving of. The Prior, four Monks, and ſome of their ſervants, one part horſed, another on foot, fly for their lives, not aſſuring themſelves till they got to *Tymmouth*, a Priory of the Monastery of *Saint Albans* in *Northumberland*, *William Greyncock*, and *William Cardinſon* a Baker, on Friday had haſtened to *S. Albans*, that they might make the ho-

done

nour of the atchievement theirs by first appearing in the action ; these brag aloud of the prosperity of affaires, that they were no more drudges and slaves, but Lords for the time to come ; that they had brought about great and wonderfull feasts against the Abbie ; they propose, first to defile the Abbot, to renounce all amity and peace with him, then to breake downe his folds and gates in *Fensowood*, *Eythood*, and his other words, and to pull down the Under-bowlers house, standing over against the Fish-market, and hindering the prospect of the Burgesles and Nobility of the Town, this is their owne stile, a Nobility scarce to be parallel'd in the world discover'd, unless we fetch in the Man-eaters of *Brasil*, who have neither Letters nor Lawes, acknowledge neither God nor Prince.

This night the first Sæne of the Tragedie is acted ; the next day, being Saturday, fittall to the Hangman *Tylor* ; the upstart Nobility of Churls assemblè and make Proclamation, That no man able to serve his Country, presume to sleight the Lieutenants of the Idol, but that every man furnish himself with such Arms as he can provide, to attend them the Lieutenants in his owne defence. The Crew summoned are commanded

manded to presse the Gentry for the service, and to cut off the heads of those who would not joyn with them, and swear to be faithfull to them; beheading, burning houses, forfeiture of goods were menaced to all that would not assist the Forces raised by *Tylor*, and fight the *Lord Battell*, that is, for the *Cause*. This, sayes our Monke, was the charge of their Lord and Master *was*, this was his Rubric of blood.

On night
pomp.

Next, with great pomp they march to *Faucunwood*, to levell the slips of their haste and night-work, something they feared might be left whole, upon review when *Ross and Branch* were pared and torne up, they retire.

The other *Growtholls* of the Neighbourhood, subject to the distresse, or Signiory of *Saint Albans*, wait for them; these were cited upon the same threats to meet, and promised belly-fulls, cart loads of *Liberties*. Now or never for the *Liberty of the Subject*, and the power of *godliness*. This supply swells them into huge hopes, it pushes them up, *Greyndes* and *Cadindan* more haughty now than ever; Lead their *Battalians*, blustering with surly pride and disdain, to the Gates of the Monastery, which with the same loftinesse they command the Porter to set open. Some of the
Com.

company, friends of the house, had given private intelligence to the Abbots of the Conventures against him, who had instructed his servants how to carry themselves towards this rag and rag of Swaines, they observe them punctually.

That they may seeme pious in their enterprises, they free the publique Malefactors out of the Abbots prison; but so that they should owe faith, obedience, and grace of the benefice to the Commons (a name the most honourable, and which must swallow up all things else) and inflexibly stick to them. One of the offenders, whom they suppose unworthy of *Liberty* or life; (growne Judge and Executioner by the same inspiration and spirit) they behead on the ground before the Gates, then fix his head upon the Pillory, roaring with that diabolish cry they had learnt at *London*. This was plaine murder by the Law, whatsoever this mans crime was, these Rogues were guilty in a most high nature; so that besides the baseness of their condition, they were incapable of any jurisdiction by the ancient fundamentall Lawes of *England*, as being Traitors, and one of the Kings faith; but so were all this by these ancient Lawes, every prisoner might demand *Oyer*, hearing of the Judges Commission,

mission, these villains had neither authority nor Commission, but from *Tylers* Sword, which was but a derivative of his usurpation. No act of which can be just, the foundation of his tyranny this way, in being just, and illegal at the first.

From the Idols first entrance no act of confirmation or grant was done (could any such act be done and valid) to establish or make a right, by the power which had that right to bestow, he asked for a Commission of life, and death, but was refused; and his arbitrary acts were onely a continuance of his intrusion, and of the violence upon which he began.

To fill up their tattered Regiments, their fellow Leaguers or *Covenanters* of *Barnet*, *Luton*, *Warford*, and the Townes round enter *St. Albans* of the same Sacrilegious assault on the Abby, in all these Conspiracies the Church was the maine mark aimed at; about the carcasses of the Cathedralls and Abbies (they were now nothing else) did these vultures gather; in the same conjuncture of time enters *Richard Wallingford*, head borough or Constable of the place, who carried at *London* for the Kings Letters of *Mannission* and *Pardon*, (which *Greyndale* had been so earnest for) bearing the Kings Banner or Pennon of the

the Arms of *S. George*, being the red Cross before him, according to the fashion of the *Clownes* of *London*. The *Commons* hearing of his coming, poure themselves out in heaps to meet him. He alights, strikes the *Penon* into the Earth, and bids them keep close and incircle it like a *Standard*. He intreats them to continue about it, and expect his return, and the *Lieutenants*, who were resolved with all speed to treat with the *Abbot*, and would suddenly bring them an answer to their propositions. Which said, he and they enter the Church, and send for the *Abbot* to appear before them, and answer the *Commons* (onely sacred then, and to whom all knees were to bow.) The *Abbot* was at first resolute to die for the liberty of his Church, (a pious gallantry which will be admirable) but overcomes with the prayers of his *Monks*, who told him, as things stood his death could advantage nothing, that these stinking Knaves, these Hell-hounds were determined to murder the *Monks*, and burne the *Monastery* if they had the repulse, and that there was no way of safety but to fall downe before these *Balls*, he yeilds. After he was come to the Church, and a short salutation past; *Wallingford* reaches out to him the *King's Letter or Writ* (as *Walsingham*

calls it) in these words, as I have rendred them out of the barbarous French of that age.

BEloved in God, At the Petition of our loved Lieges of the Towne of St. Albane we will and command you, That certaine Charters being in your custody made by our Progenitour King Henry to the Burgeses and good People of the said Towne of commune of pasture and fishing, and of certain other commodities expressed in the said Charters, in what they say, you doe as Law, and Reason requires, So that they may not have any matter to complaine to us for that Cause. Given under our Signet at London the 15. day of June, the fourth yeare of our Reigne.

Here certainly againe is a mistake of the day, for till Friday the 16. of June, the Clownes of Saint Albanes (as is observed) stirred not. Thus is the King forced to be the Author of other mens injustice, to consent to those insolencies (and wrongs) which must undoe all those, those who are faithfull to h.m, to please a base rable, ingaged

ingaged to turn in the end their destroying hands upon himselfe and his royall Family. The Abbot receives the Letter with due reverence, and reads it: then thinking to worke upon the consciences of these Helhounds, he begins a discourse of Law, Reason, Equity, and Justice, Law and Reason were the princely bounds betwixt which the *Kings* commands ran. He tells them whatsoever was demanded by them, had beene long agoe decerned in the Courts of Justice, by the publick Judges, persons knowing, and honourable, sworn to doe equall right.

That the Records were kept amongst the *Kings* Rolls at *Westminster*, whence he inferred, That according to the Lawes antiently in use, they had neither right nor claime left: he addes, the usurpation upon anothers propriety is tyranny in the abstract; it is the greatest injustice: the very heathens will have it unnaturall to enrich our selves, to make our advantage from Spoyle and robbery, but force is odious to God and man, that aggravates the sinne; violence is a more heynous crime than theft. This was ridiculous wisdom, considering who they were the good Abbot spake to, he had forgot perhaps how *Antigon* armed to invade and seize the *Cities*

ties, and Countries of other Princes, laughed at the serious grave folly of one; who presented him with a tractate of Justice. *Wallingford* with his hand upon his Sword takes him off pertinently, as reflecting upon the manners of men, whose treasons prosper, and practise of the times; In which new men did not advance themselves by Vertue, by Learning, by Justice, or Valour, but by Murder and Robbery.

My Lord (sayes he) every story is not true, because it is eloquently told, you endeavour here to inveigle and deceive us in a long discourse of equity, of Law, and Justice, we come not hither for words but things, we pretend not to refute your reasons, (which are but unjust defences of your oppression, but cunning subtilities, but colours to paint ore the wrongs you doe us, nor can we, the rudeness of our education must disable us for this part, we have beene borne and bred under your Dominion, slaves, and Villens to you, under a Dominion so unmanly cruell, you have alwayes kept us deprived, not onely of all meanes of learning or knowledge, but would willingly have taken away our very reason and common understanding, that we might grone under our miseries, with the feeling of beasts, but be Masters
neither

neither of sence nor language for a complainr.

It is time now that we of the *Commonalty* as you call and rangour, should take our turne of command, however of *Liberty*. Nor is this to be wondered at if you consider our strength, and the happinesse of the new *Modell*, the eminency of the *Commons* is visible to every eye, theirs is the present, theirs is the *Supreme Power*, we are armed, and we will not thinke of the *Lawes*, not regard them, they onely submit to *Lawes*, who want power to helpe themselves. Besides these *Lawes* you tell us of, are but the will of our enemies in forme and rule, they were made by them, they favour them; And our *Captaine Generall Tylor*, who has conquered (a sad unhappy word, where it is used of one part of a Nation against another, and of *Benjamin* against *Israel*, by the worst and least against the better and greater) the makers of them, the *Law-givers*, was so become above the *Lawes* themselves; your reasons, when these *Lawes* were backed with force, when your *King* could protect you, before our *success*, might have served well enough; Now we expected them not, nor will we accept them.

*Perq; utrum
sumpes
biematis
agendum.*

He concludes in perswasion, not to exasperate the *godly party*, the righteous *Commons*, who sayes he will not be appeased, will not give over, nor lay downe Armes till they be Masters of their desires.

The Abbot, entring into a new speech, is againe stopped, and told, the thousand before the doores of his Monastery sent for him not to parly, but consent, which they looke he should be sudden in, if not we (sayes *Wallingford*) the Lieutenants, chosen by the Captaine representatives of the people, will deliver up and resigne the powers to him, which we received of him. We have voted, if you comply not, to send for the Captaine Generall Tyler, and twenty thousand of his Militia to the danger of this place, and of the Monkes heads.

The Abbot here recites his good deeds, how often in their necessities he had relieved them, he had beene (he sayes) their spirituall Father thirty two yeares, in all which time, no man had beene grieved, or oppressed by him, this giving impliedly the lie to *Wallingford*, they grant, but will not be denied. The Obligations and Charters, which they require, are delivered them, which they burne in the Market-place, neare the Crosse; This did not content them, they aske for an ancient Charter

ter concerning the Towne Liberties, the
 capitall Letters of which (say they) were
 one of Gold, another of Azure; * The **De arwis*
 Abbot prayes them to be satisfied for the
 time, he protests, they have all he has to
 give them, he knew of no more, yet he
 would make a search, and if any such deed
 could be found, it should faithfully be deli-
 vered to them; This too was the answer
 of the *Covent*, it was agreed that the Abbot
 should after dinner disclaime under his
 hand and seale in all things prejudiciall to
 their Liberty. In memory of an old suit
 betwixt Abbot *Richard* the first, and the
 Townsmen in the reignes of *William* the
 second, and *Henry* the first, wherein the
 Townsmen were overthrowne, were laid
 Millstones before the doore of the * Parler. ** Locustarii.*
 These *John* the Barber with others tooke
 away, as a token of victory over the Law;
 these they break into small pieces, and di-
 stribute amongst the worthies, as the sacred
 Bread is given in the *Eucharist*.

Who could forbear teares (sayes *Wal. Wals.*
ingham) heavy bewailing these changes,
 to see servants command their Lords, who
 know not how to rule, nor how to pity.
 To see *London* (once the noble head of
 our Cities) become a stie for uncleane
 Swine. Who would not tremble to heare

That the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer should be offered victims to wicked spirits, to the Kentish Idol, the Kentish *Saturne* or *Moloch*, and his Hob-goblins in the midst of the Kingdome. Nay (sayes he) whose heart would it not have wounded through to have seene the King of *England*, who of right for Majesty and dignity ought to precede all Kings in the World, out of feare of his head, observe the nods, and becks of these varlers, and the Nobility and Gentry, mortified beasts, trampled on by these scollions, enslaved at their owne charge, lick up their dust.

After dinner, a sad dinner to the Monks, this merdaille, these stinkards, throng before the gates, and demand the Charter of Liberties, which the Abbot had promised them to seale, which was sent, and read to them in the thickest of the rout: If they please to accept it, (this was the Abbots Complement) he is ready to seale. They (resolved never to be pleased) with much scorne and pride answer by an Esquise of the Abbot. That the Abbot must appoint some Clerk of his to attend them with Ink and Parchment, Themselves would dictate, and after the Abbot and Covent should confirme what was done; when this humour was satisfied, The safety
and

and peace of the Monastery and Monkes were as desperats as ever. The old Charter, which they will everlastingly believe concealed, must be produced, else they will bury the Covent in the ruines of the Cloysters.

This Charter did certainly (as they will have it) containe all their antient *Liberties* and priviledges, and if this was true, there was no great reason it should be in the Abbots keeping.

Here the Abbot imployes the most honourable Esquires of the Countrey, as Mediators to soften them, and offers (if they desire it) to say Masse before them next morning, and to swear upon the Sacrament he should be about to take, with what Monkes they would name, that he kept from them no such Charter with his knowledge.

Make choice (sayes he) of what *Liberties* you can, you shall have my Charters drawne, they shall be granted you by it; I will seale you a reall Charter instead of a fantastickall one, never seene by you, no where to be had. The Abbot struggles in vaine against these waves, this Charter of their fancies they will have: Nor shall any other price redeeme the Monastery, they intended the subversion of the house, and wrangle

strangle thus crossely, that they might seeme to have some pretences to doe it, but because they had much businesse to goe abroad, and could not be here and there too, a truce was taken for that day, and many of these *pure brethren* betake themselves to other parts; some of them would not be prevailed with, the Bread and Ale of the Monastery brought forth to them in huge Fats, would not worke upon them to lay their fury, they staid onely for a leading hand. Here an honest Burgess interposes,

Ribaldi: *Ribaulds* (sayes he) what is it you purpose? most of you here are forrainers of the Villages about, this is the most famous mischief which can be acted in this Countrey, this Beacon must set all on fire, and it is fit we, who are Burgesses and Free-men of this Towne should give the on-set: by this finenesse they are gained to quit the gates, and joyne to the assistance of their fellow-labourers. The rest of the day is spent by their united forces, in overthrowing of houses, clashing of vessells, and spoiling of goods according to the rule of *Walter* the false founder of the order. At night the Lieutenants make Proclamation under the Kings Banner, commanding strong Guards to be set about the Towne, that they may be assured against surprizes, and about

Quod didicerant. 2
Waltero.

about the river *Werlam*, and *Saint Germanes*; making it losse of the head to any Monke, who should be found issuing from, or entring the Monastery that way. This was done to set a trap for the Prior; and those who fled with him. They proclaimed also that whosoever could challenge any debts due to him from the Monastery, might put in his claime (and little prooffe should be needed) the next day, and the Bargesies of the Towne, would discharge as far as the goods of the Monastery would reach; Much more was Magisterially throwne in, to shew a cast of the present power: which was no sooner done, but there appears a Farmour of the Mannor of *Kingsbury* belonging to this Abbey, armed with his Sword and Buckler, this man was much in arreares for his Farme, and durst not peepe abroad from his lurking holes before these brayles, which hiding of himselfe he imputes now to the injustice, and cruelty of the Prior, this chuffe demands one hundred Marks damages for the losses he had sustained in his absence, and threatens to burne the grange of *Saint Peter*, and Mannor-house of *Kingsbury* neare the Abby, if he be not repaired; twenty pounds he receives upon this demand, and goes away, swearing, he would

would freely give it back againe for the Priors head.

Saturday night passed with much perplexity to the Monkes, who were at their wits ends, and lifes too. (they could not hope better things) about the Charter, which was no where extant but in the endodles of these cluster-fists. But day, and comfort broke out together upon them; Suddenly this overflow of pride, and arrogancy abated, their loftinesse fell, and their bristles were somewhat laid, very unpleasant rumours concerning the Army were spread, and the death of the Idol Tyrant *Wat*, of stinking memory was certainly knowne and divulged, and what was as stabbing, that the Citizens of *London* growne wise, and resolute, either out of loyalty (or which is the rather to be supposed experience of their new master) began now to owne their Prince, their naturall Lord unanimously, and to side with him against all seditious opposers of his Majesty, and the *just rights and liberties* of his people, which they saw like to perish together. Farther a Knight of the Court, seconds the report, and by proclamation in the Kings Name (now legall againe) commands this herd to keepe the Kings peace under forfeiture of life, and members from that houre.

The

*Wals. fule
memoria.*

Walsingh.

The King now growne a Protestant & gaine of his Subjects, sends his Letters pro-
tectorie to the Abbot in these words.

Richard, &c. To all our Lieges,
and Commons of Hartford &c.
We pray, Charge, Command, streightly
as we may, &c. by the faith and lige-
ances which to us yee owe, that to our
Beloved in God, the Abbot of St. Al-
bane, nor to our House and Monastery
of the said place, of our Patronage, nor
to none of the People, Monkes, nor o-
thers, nor to none of the goods of the
said Monastery, &c. Iee suffer to be
done, as much as in you lies any grie-
vance, damage, &c. Given under
our Great Seale at our City of London,
&c.

Though now these Carles were well cool-
led, yet ere the zeale was quite slakened,
and the Clouds dispelled, which hovered
weakely, and were likely to scatter with
the next breath of winds, they conclude
to perfect their building, which to the
great nufance of this Monastery they had
raised,

raised; Besides, the Lieutenants, or Major Generalls of *Tyler*, thought it a much unworthinesse to droope too soon, before those whom they had summoned in to piece up their deformed insurrection with so much bravery, and insolence. They continued and pursue their requests to the Abbot, but with lesse noise than formerly, the Abbot was advised by Letters from Sir *Hugh Segrave*, Lord Steward of the Household, and Sir *Thomas Percy* created after Earle of *Worcester*, to grant all things, assuring him these grants being thus forced from him would be voide in Law, and could not hurt his Monastery. The Abbots Chamber, the Chappell, all places are full of them, they give directions to the Abbots Clerke for their Charter of Liberties, which now they were contented to accept, but will have a Bond of one thousand pounds sterling for the delivering up the Charter unknowne, before the annunciation of the blessed Virgin next, if it can be found, if not, that the Abbot with his twelfth hand (an antient Saxon manner of purging or clearing the offender, where the offence was secret) with twelve of his chiefe Monkes should sweare, that he neither has nor detains any such Charter with his knowledge.

*Wals. Ber.
lingum:*

The

The Abbot agrees, he and the Covent Seale; But oh the miracle (not to be believed, nor understood without another upon our faith, and understanding) the Seale, in which the glorious *Protomartyr* *Wals.* was figured, three times together could not be pulled from the Wax, no sleight, no strength could doe it; To passe by the pious frauds, and dreames of Monkes; from thence the black-bands depart to the Market place, there at the Crosse they publish their new Acquisitions, the Charters of the King, and Abbot, with the Kings protection of the Monastery, which was but a counterfeit of their love. On Monday and Tuesday following the villeins of the Patrimony of our *Protomartyr* (as the others did in all places else imbroiled) exact of the Abbot deeds of manumission, and *Liberty*, according to the effect of the Royall Charter before, which Charter the Abbot recites, and confirms.

From villeins these now conceive themselves Gentlemen of Welsh pedigree, descended of Princes, nay as our Monk, noble beyond the line and race of Kings, they are meere free-holders, hold onely of God and the Sunne, rather of the Sun, and club, and will neither performe their customes, and services, nor pay Rent. The common people,

Wals.

people, who are neither swayed by Religion or Honesty, stop and check themselves, not that they were contented, but because they could not, nay they durst not goe on to more.

The plague of this distemper was not onely epidemically, but kept its dayes, on the fatall Saturday, fifty thousand Clownes, out of *Suffolke, Essex, Cambridgeshire*, the Isle of *Elie* (places miserably harrassed according to the former presidents) were incorporated by the juggling tricks of the Essexian impostors, sent out by the Fathers of disobedience, in the first conception of the ruffie to inveigle proselites to the *Holy League*. This was but an indigested Masse without shape or forme, *Wra* not *Straw* (as sometimes he is called) a most leud *Presbyter* as *Walsingham*, or Priest, who came from *London*, the day before with Orders from *Tyler* (who according to his owne establishment had the executive power) was imployed into those parts to lick and fashion the Monster. He with *Robert Westbrome* King of this Congregation, lead the tatter'd reformers from *Mildehall* to *St. Edmunds bury*, where then stood a most glorious Monastery, and where their fellow scoundrells expected them. *Wra* findes these choperloches good disciples, willing

Sceleratiff.
Presby.

willing to learne, and quick of apprehension, so capable they understood his least signes. The same frensies are againe acted by other Lunaticks, the Lawyrs or Apprentices of the Law (as the Monke) and their houses are the first objects of their spight, they doe not onely cut off them, but fire their nests. Sir *John Cavendish* chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench, who had bene one of the most able Serjeants of this Kings Grand-fathers Reigne, and was made chiefe Justice by him, they intercept, and behead. *Orpheus Tragicus*, *Nero* the *Roman*, *Belshazzar* the *Brittain*, excellent in the sweetnesse of a voyce and skill of Song, with *John of Cambridge* Prior of *Saint Edmunds* lose their lives in the same manner, as they unluckily fell in to their hands.

The cause of the Priors death is made this ; He was discreet, and managed the affaires of his Monastery faithfully, and diligently, he was taken neare *Mildenhall*, a Towne then belonging to *Saint Edmund* of the demaine of the Abby, the Vassalls, Hindes, Villeins, and bond-men of the house, sentenced him, murdered him by Vote ; His body lay five dayes naked in the field unburied. In *Saint Edmunds bury*, these cut-throats compass the Priors head

H

round

round as in a procession, after they carry it upon a Lance to the pillory, where that and the chiefe Iustices head, are advanced. Their next worke was the levelling a new house of the Priours. After they enter the Monastery, which they threaten to fire, unlesse *John Lakinbeshe* Gardian, of the temporalities of the Barony in the vacancy then were delivered to them, which the Towns-men mingled in the throng put them upon: the Gardian stood amidst the croud unknown. This man out of piety to preserve the Monastery (it was piety then though it may be thought impiety now) discovers himselfe, he tells them he is the man they seek, and askes what it is the *Commons* would have with him. They call him traitor (it was capitall to be called so, not to be so) drag him to the Market-place, and cut off his head, which is set upon the Pillory to keepe company with the Priors, and chiefe Iustices.

Walter of Tedington a Monke was sought for, they wanted his head, but he hid himselfe, and escaped. Our hacksters errant, of the round Table. Knights of industry, would be thought Generall redemptors, to take care of all men in distresse; For the Bargeffes sake, they command the Monkes, (threatning them and their walls

if they obey not) to deliver up all the obligations of the Townsmen for their good behaviour; all the antient Charters from the time of King Can the Founder any way concerning the liberties of the Town; besides they must grant and confirme by Charter the *Liberties* of the Towne, which could not be done in the vacancy (for so it was) *Edmund* of *Brumfield* Abbot in name; by provision of the *Pope* was a prisoner at *Nottingham*; nor had any election beene since the death of Abbot *John Bri-vole*, and therefore the Jewels of the *Aduls* are pawned to the Townsmen as a gage that *Edmund* of *Brumfield* (whom they would suppose Abbot, and whom they intended to set free) should Seale, which Jewels were a Crosse and Calice of Gold, with other things, exceeding in value one thousand pounds, these were restored againe in time of peace, but with much unwillingesse. Upon the brute of the Idols mishap, and the suppression of his Legions at *London*, these Caterpillers dissolve of themselves, *Wras* the Priest, *W. B. brans*, & the rest of the capitall villains in the generall audie, or doomesday for these hurlibories, shall be called to a reckoning for their outrages. Cambridge suffered not a little in these uproars, the Townsmen

with the Country peasants about confederated together, breake up the treasury of the University, tear and burn its Charters, they compell the Chancelour and Schollars under their common Seals to release to the Major and townsmen all rights and liberties, all actions, and to be bound in 3000l, not to molest the Burgeses by suits of Law concerning these things for the time to come. The Mayor and Bailiffs were fetched up by writ to the next Parl. where the deeds were delivered up and Cancelled, the Liberties of the towne seiz'd into the Kings hand, as forfeited; new ones granted by him to the University, all which they owe yet to the piety of this King, and his Parliament, a Court which the Idol never names: had he set up one of his owne beggetting, it must have had nothing else but the name; it would have beene as destroying as the field.

Norfolke the Mother of the *Kets* would not loyter this while, nor sit dazily, and sluggishly looking on. *John Liltster* a Dyer of *Norwich* King of the *Commons* there, infuses zeale and daring into his Countrymen; he had composed out of his owne Empire, and the borders, an Army of fifty thousand Men. This upstart Kingling would not wholly move by example, he makes

makes presidents of his owne, and tramples not like a dull beast the road beaten by others. He had heard what was done by the *London* Congregations, he had a stock of traditions from the Elders there, which he was able to improve; and although I know not how he could exceed the Idol with his councell, yet (so the Monk) exceeds them he did, he presumed greater things.

Tyler lost his life before things were ripe, was watched and undermined by the King and Nobility, he could not spread his full sailes, else for his presumption he far out-goes *Lisler*. *Lisler* the *Norfolke* Devil begins with plunder and rapine (the onely way to flesh a young Rebellion.) The *Malignants* of the Kings party, (the rich and peaceable goe under that notion) are made a prey, no place was safe, or privileged. Plots were laid to get the Lord *William* of *Ufford* Earle of *Suffolke*, at his Mannor of *Ufford* near *Dobenham* in *Suffolke*, into the company, out of policy; That if the cause succeeded not, then the Rebels might cover themselves under the shadow of that Peer. The Earle warned of their intention, rises from Supper, and disguised as a Groom * of Sir *Roger* of *Bou*, with a

* *Groom*.

and about, ever avoiding the route, comes to St. *Albans*, and from thence to the King.

The *Commons* failing here, possess themselves of the places, and houses of the *Knights* neare, and compell the owners to sweare what they list, and for greater wariness to ride the Country over with them, which they durst not deny: among those intralled by this compulsion were the *Lords* *Scales*, and *Morley*, *Sir John Brews*, *Sir Stephens of Hales*, and *Sir Roberts of Salle*, which last was no Gentleman borne, but as full of honour and loyalty as any man, Knighted by the *Kings* Grand-father for his valour, he was (sayes *Freissart*) one of the biggest *Knights* in *England*, a man not supple enough, who could not bend before the new *Lords*; He had not the solidity of judgement (as some more subtle than honest call it) to accommodate himselfe to the times. Like *Messala* he would be of the Justest side, let the fortune be what it would, he would not forsake Justice under colour of following prudence, he thought it not in vaine to prop up the falling Government, perhaps his judgement may be blamed he stayed not for a sic time, had he not failed here, he had not fought against heaven, against providence,

dence, whose counsells and decrees are hid from us, are in the clouds, not to be pierced, our understanding is as weak, as foolish, as providence is certain and wise. Our hopes and feares deceive us alike, we cannot resolve our selves upon any assurance, to forsake our duty for the time to come, Gods designs are knowne onely to himselfe, It is despaire, not piety (despair too farre from that) to leave our Country in her dangerous diseases, in her publick calamities; the insolency of unjust men is a prodigie of their ruine, and the incertainty of things humane may teach us, that those we esteeme most *establisht* most assured, are not seldome soonest overthrowne, *Plato* would not have men refer all things to fate, there is somewhat in our selves (sayes he) not a little in fortune, Ours are but cockfights, the least remainder of force and life may strike a necking blow, and by an unlooked for victory raise what is false, if death cannot be kept off, if our Country cannot be saved by our attempts, there is a comlineesse in dying handsomly, nor can any man be unhappy but he who out-lives it. We have heard of Women who cast themselves into the fiery pits where their dead husbands are consumed; of Vassals who stab themselves to follow

their Prince into the next world ; of *Orb's* Praetorians, of the *Saguntines* burning in their Cities flames. What can be so honourable as to dye for or with our Country, or Faith, our Religion, or Honesty, to die with that which gave us life, and liberty, and sense of these ?

Lifsters Hog-herds vow to burne *Norwich*, unless this Knight will come out to them, which he does well mounted, and forsakes his Horse to please them. They seem to honour him highly, and offer him a faire Canton of the new *Common-wealth*, if he will command their Forces.

The faithfull *Cavalier* abhorred the proposition, and could not dissemble his dislike ; He tells them he will not to his eternal dishonour renounce his Sovereigne, whom all good men obeyed, to ingage with the veryest perfidious Traitors living, in their villanies. He attempts to Horse himselfe againe, but failes ; It was Treason to speak against the Government.

The *Commons* grow furious, they cry out Treason, against Treason and Rebellion : Thousands of hands are lifted up against him, as if they all moved by the same Nerves and Sinews ; They hew him down, but he crushes some of them with his ruine ; Whosoever stood within his reach, lost ei-
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ther Head, Legs or Armes; He kils twelve of them, at length avillean of his owne beats out his brains; Then doe the infernal Curs rush in with full mouthes, and mangle him to bits, who (sayes *Walsingham*) would have driven a thousand of them before him, had he had faire play. This amazes the rest of the Gentry, they strive for *Vassalage*, with the same emulation others doe for *Liberty*, they observe *Lister*, they receive his Commands upon their knees, who in all things imitates the state and pomp of Kings; Sir *Stephen* of *Hales* a Knight of honour carves before him, and tastes his Meates, and Drinckes, the rest of the miserable Courtiers are employed in their severall offices. But when the fame of the Kings good fortune began to grow strong, and of his preparations to assert his Right and Authority, *Lister* sends on Embassie (from *NorthWalsbam*, the thorne of his tyranny) to *London*, the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Brewes*, with three of the confiding *Commons*, to obtaine Charters of manumission, and pardon, with great summes of monies, (squeezed out of the Citizens or *Norwich*, under pretence of preserving the City from slaughter, fire and spoils, or as others raised by an ordinary tribute to *Lister*.) Which monies were sent for presents

sents to the King, to win him to grant them Charters more ample and beneficial than had been given to any others.

These Messengers are met at *Tichlingham* (neere *New-market* by *Henry le Spenser*) Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, of a noble Family, stout and well armed; He had been in his Mannor of *Burleigh* neere *Okham*, and there heard of the tumults in *Norfolk* and was now hasting thither to see how things were carryed, with eight Lances onely in his company, and a few Archers. He charges the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John* upon their Allegiance to tell him, whether any of the *Commons* (the Kings Traitors) were with them. They look upon the Bishop as a young rash man, and the awe of their Masters was so prevalent, he could hardly wrest this secret from them. After many words they discover it; and the Bishop causes the heads of the Clowns to be struck off, and fixed on a publick place at *New-market*. Then taking with him that Lord and Knight, he posts for *Northwalsbam*. The Gentry hearing of the Bishops arrival in his Coat of Mail, with his Helmet upon his head, his Sword by his side, and his Lance upon his thigh, croud in to him: the Bishop quickly found himselfe in a gallant equipage, and as quickly reacht

North

Northampton, the ficks of the Rebel-
lion.

Litster was intrenched, he had fortified his ditch with Pales, Stakes, and Dorn, and shut himselfe in behinde with his Carts, and Carriages. The heroick Bishop like another *Maccabæus*, charges bravely through the ditch, into the midst of the Rebels (when all the Barons of England hid themselves,) so suddenly that the Archers could not let an arrow flie at him, and came to handy blowes. As the French Historian *de Serres* observes, in affaires of the World oftentimes he that is most strong carries it, a good fortune, and a good minds seldome got together.

Orto tells his Souldiers oftentimes where the causes of things are good, yet if judgement be wanting (I may put in) where the Counsels are unsound, the Agents faithlesse, where Money, Armes, and Men are wanting, the issue must be pernicious; The goods and honours of this world which follow the Triumphs Charlots are common to the good and bad; Grace, Charity and Love, are the marks of a pious man, not Success, to brag of which becomes rather a *Spartacus* or *Mabomet*, (who carry Faith and Law upon the Swords point) than a Christian: The God of the Christi-
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and about, ever avoiding the route, comes to *St. Albanes*, and from thence to the King.

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and is not the God of robbery, and blood, but things here fell out as could be wished, the innocency of the side prevailed, and the righteous weak side overcame the strong unjust; *Lisfer* touched with the conscience of his mischiefs, struggles to the utmost to avert his danger, at length gives ground, and attempts to shift for himself by leaping over his Carriages in the Rere. The Bishop pressed forward so fiercely, this course proved in vaine, most of the unhappy Clownes are laid along upon the place. *Lisfer* and the Captains of the Conspiracy are taken and condemned to be drawn, hanged and beheaded, which was done. Others of the chiefe Conspirators dispersed over the Country, are searched out and executed.

*Nisi enim
demonis
pleni fu-
sent, nequa-
quam in de-
structione sac-
rae Ecclesiae
fidei & re-
gni inter-
minu con-
spirassent.*

The Monke here tells us, It was apparent by the workes of these Demoniacks, by their fruits, that they had conspired (he speaks of the whole) not onely the destruction of the Church and Monarchy, but of the Christian faith too. Schoole-masters were sworne by them never to teach Grammer more, and whosoever was taken with an Inkhorne about him, never saved his head.

Our Monke attributes these calamities to the remissness of the Bishops, to the conceits

conceits and fangles of Presbyter *Wycliffe*, which if they be truly registred by the Monkes, his mortall enemies, were pestilentiall and damnable. Indeed Presbyter *Wycliffe* was then living, but is not named in these commotions, as one busie in them, by the Monke, (though busie he might be, we shall finde Sir *John Old-castle*, Lord *Cobham*, and others of *Wycliffes* disciples, rebels, and traitours, too too busie in *Henry* the sixts beginning) *Baal*, and *Straw*, and *Wran* were Priests of the Idol, and his Lieutenants, and might serve the turne to imbroyle without fetching more aide in: He attributes too these mischiefs to the licentious invectives of the Clownes against their Lords, generally to the sins of the Nation, inclusively taking in the Orders of Mendicants, or Begging Fryars, (like factious Lecturers) who had nothing of their owne, and were obliged to flatter the people, and make themselves popular) who sayes he forgetfull of their profession and vowe, greedy and covetous of mony, foster the people in their errors, call good evill, and evill good, seducing the great men with fawning, and the rabble with lyes. So that in those dayes (thus he proceeds) the Argument held in every mans mouth, *This is a Fryar, therefore a Lyar*, as strong as this, *This is white, therefore coloured*.

Here againe is *Malsingham* at a stand; he complaines, That it is impossible to relate the villanies of the Rustick Devils, done in all parts.

We will now return to see what the King does next; who was not asleep this while. After he had cleared the City (late ly *Tylers* good Town) of the Kentish frier, he commands the Nobility and Gentry (who durst now peep abroad) all the Kingdome over to repair to him at *London* well armed, and well horsed; as they loved him; and his royall honour. Their owne danger, and late feares, add wings to their haste. Within a few dayes, forty thousand Horse meet at a Rendezvous upon *Blackheath*, whither the young King, who had taken his Sequestration off; and restored himselfe to his Blood and Majesty; rides daily upon a Royall Courser, to view their Obediency with his Imperiall Banner borne before him. He delighted to be seen and acknowledged for what he was amongst his own Homagers. Here he is informed, that the Kentishmen (a stirring people, but with what generous resolution will soone be found) are again in mutinie; (a mutinie however else contemptible) not to be frighted as that time. The King commands his Cavalrie (on fise, as much as himselfe)

to march forth with all speed to the place of rendezvous.

to march, and root out this perfidious race, of miscreants. Here the Nobility and Gentry of the County interpose, and become pledges for the Commons, which appease the King; who now disbands his Army, and resolves to take no other course of Justice, but such as was ordinary and usuall, by Judgements upon the known Lawes of the Land, and by Juries of twelve men, the ancient Birth-right of the Englishmen. Lawes which could not have fitted *Tylers* Courts, nor Tryals, but which have bene ever the rule in all just and legall Tryalls, in all calme, and pious Ages. The Law Martiall being proper to an Army marching to be exercised in it. If otherwise, all Sentences by colour of it, are against the *Magna Charta*, &c. and to the manifest subversion of the priviledges of Subjects.

Barle of
Strasford

Upon this faire, and Kingly conclusion of *Richard*, Commissions were given, and Justices of *Oyer and Terminer*, to heare and determine the Treasons and Felonies committed in the late Insurrections, and principally to inquire, who were the chief authors, fomenters, and incendiaries of the broyles, are sent into *Kent*, *Essex*, and the rest of the Provinces in Rebellion.

The most honourable Mayor of *London*, with others in Commission with him, sate upon

upon those of *Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, &c.* who were apprehended in *London*. *Straw* taken in an old rotten house about *London, Kirkby, Trader, Sterling* are condemned, and beheaded, *Strawes* head being set upon *London-bridge* with *Tylers*, but *Jack Straw*, who was privy to all the contrivances, and plots of the confederacy could give light into the mid-night darkness of *Tylers* steps, through all the close windings of his labyrinths of Treasons; is urg'd (the Major promising with some hon^{or} to Citizens to be at the charge of *Misses* for his soule, the good of which they desire him to consider) to declare his full knowledge of the Counsells, and votes pass'd, and to what end they had conjured up the wicked spirits of those *Garboyles*. *John* was obstinate at the first, and would confesse nothing: but gained by these promises, and a little penitent (which was much to be believed of one possessed with Legions) he tells them, *because I have hopes of help from your suffrages after my death, and because this discovery may be advantageous to the Common-wealth, I will confesse truly to you what we intended; when we met at Black-heath, and sent for the King by our Captains Generalls Order, we purposed to have massacred all the Nobility and Gentry with him*

him, then to have lead the King with us
 respected, and treated Kingly from place
 to place, to baite the vulgar by the authority
 of his presence into our League, whom they
 might so have taken for the head of our Com-
 motion, he being by these means likely to
 have bene supposed by his own party too to
 have trusted us, when by the constuence of all
 the Countie our companies had been full, and
 the supreme Executive power wholly ours,
 We meant to have purged the Nation, to have
 destroyed the Gentry, and, first the Knights
 of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, with all the
 ragges of royalty, which by this time had been
 but a ragge it selfe. Afterwards to have kil-
 led the King, whose Name could then have
 been of no use to us.

Their Oath to preserve him could not
 last longer then their conveniency and opi-
 nions, which had then changed. We meant
 so once, but we meane otherwise now,
 had beane a satisfactory excuse. They had
 often sworne and Covenanted that they
 neither meant nor had power to hurt the
 Kings Prerogative, that they intended to
 maintaine the Kings authority in his royall
 dignity, the free course of Justice, and the
 Lawes of the Land, with infinite expresse-
 ions and protestations of this kind. They
 might answer, The time was when all this

See Mag.

Chart &c.

See 25 H.

8.

1 Elix.

1 Jac.

was reall, when they would not have sub-
 verted the government, not have destroyed
 the ancient family, to which sayes a Statute
 (which we hope it can be no treason to
 Tylers Ghost to recite) the dominions, and
 rights of the realme of England, &c. Ought
 by inherent birth-right and lawfull and un-
 doubted succession descend and come. This we
 being bounden (thus speake the members
 heretofore) thereunto by the Lawes of God
 and man doe recognise, &c. The answer we
 say might have beene easy, they would not
 have done it some time ago, they swore
 and Covenanted, and Covenanted againe
 they would, not now they will; Tyler is still
 Tyler, but his Liberty (false cheating liber-
 ty) is every where free, both to will and dis-
 like, as the safety of the Common-wealth shall
 require and carry him on. This was the
 faith and honesty of that age, by which
 we may guesse at the cause and men who
 acted for it, who were the undertakers,
 what trust is to be given to such perfidious
 knaves whose protestations, and Covenants
 of one day are wiped out by an inspiration of
 the next; We may say by an inspiration, It
 was wondrous fit for these changes. Our
 Pretens should bring inspiration in. All
 those of Estates, and Possessions, Bishops, Ca-
 nons, Parsons of Churches, Monks, we
 would

would have rooted out of the earth: only the
 begging Fryers should have been preserved,
 who would have served (such sheep such She-
 pherds) well enough for Church-duties;
 which we may wonder after all these
 pranks that they should thinke of; here
 would have beene a very plaine church,
 Questionlesse after all these actions the de-
 votion of these Reformers could not have
 beene much; By that time our publick
 Theeves had cast lots for the Kings, Churches,
 Nobilities, and Gentsies Revenues;
 what Boores of others Countreies could
 have compared with the riches of our Pea-
 sants and their Captaine Tyler. When there
 should have beene (so Straw goes on,) none
 left more great, more strong, or more wise
 then our selves, then we had set up a Law of
 our owne forging, at our pleasure, by which
 our Subjects should have beene regulated.
 Necessary it was the old Law should be
 vored downe; It condemned them in eve-
 ry line. Then had we created in Kings, Tyler
 for Kent (a part too small for the Arch-
 tyrant) and others for other Shires; Here
 was to be Monarchy still, not evil in it
 selfe, but where it ought to be of right,
 only the Family was to be changed, the
 antient Saxon Norman stamme, for an up-
 start dunghill brood of Vipers, Tyler to be
 advanced

advanced upon the ruines of *Richard*, the Cedar to be torne up, to make the Bramble roome enough, while any of the royall off-spring had beene in being to claime the right, to have involved the miserable, perjured, foolish people in an everlasting civill Warre; never to have ceased while there had beene a veine of blood to run. The maintenance of *Tylers* wrong, his usurpation (not to look farther than the present World) would have beene more fatall then ten plagues. *John* addes, no man thwarted these ends of ours more than the Archbishop, therefore we hated him to death, and made all the hast possible to bring him to it.

In the evening of that Saturday in which *Wat* perished, because the poorer sort of the Londoners favoured us, we intended to have fired the City in foure places, and to have divided the spoiles (So the faithfull Citizens, as forward as they were, had at last paid for their love) he calls God to witnesse these truths. The confessions of many others of the engagement agreed with this of *Straw*.

now.

The Lawyers, and those (as one) who fled from the tyranny of the time, durst now show their faces. Here is tyranny of the rout, tyranny of a savage Clown their boutefeu;

boutefeu; whose few dayes of cruell usurpation, were more bloody, more destroying then the yeares of any *Caligula*, any *Nero*, any *Domitian* whatsoever. A Civill Warre (sayes a noble *Frenchman*) makes more breaches, as to a Country, as to Manners, Lawes, and Men in six Moneths, then can be repaired in six yeares. *steur de la Neuf.*

What then can be thought or said of those Monsters, who, against all ties of nature and piety, shall raise a desperate civill Warre, meerely with the intent to overthrow Religion, the Church, the Government, Lawes, and Humanity, out of a cursed diabolish ambition to advance themselves (*Tylers* and Sons of the Earth before) to an height which God (as some love to speake) never called them to. For though power is of God, it is onely so when the comming to it is by lawfull meanes. He that ordaines the power, allowes, not the usurpation of it, *Tyler* had the power to doe mischief, the power of rebellion, the power which must have ruined the church & common wealth, but whether this be the power which Christians are to submit to, let the next Casuists judge.

The *Septuagint* translation of the Bible sayes of *Abimelech*, who slew his seaventy Brethren, (murder ushers usurpation in)

He made himselfe King, by Tyranny. The Monk, who writes the lives of the Offa's, speaking of Beornred the Mercian Usurper, has these words: In the same region of the Mercians, a certain Tyrannus rather destroying and dissipating the Nobility of the Realm, than ruling, &c. persecuting, banishing, &c. Lest any one, especially of the Royal Blood, should be advanced in his place, he vehemently feared. The thirty Usurpers in the time of Gallienus are every where called Tyrannes. Paulus Diaconus writing of Valentinus in the time of Valentinian, sayes, He was crushed in Britannie, before he could invade the Tyrannis; and of Maximus, that he was stout and valiant, and worthy of the Empire, had he not against the faith of his oath, raised himselfe per tyrannidem, by tyrannis. In other places, Eugenius, Gratian, Constance, Sebastian, created Tyrannes. The words Tyrannus, and Tyrannus, and tyrannous partus, being used often by him, are ever opposed to just and Regall power, never used in any other sense. Widdrington, to the example of Athalia urged by Bellarmine against Kings, sayes she was no lawfull Queen, she had seized the Kingdome as an Usurperesse by Tyrannis, the Kingdome belonged to Joash, in whose right, and by whose power she was justly slaine — Our most

most learned Prelate Bishop *Abbot* of *St. Augu-*
linary tells the Cubs of *Loyola*, *Atalia* c. 3:
 had snatched, had grasped, and held the king-
 dome with no right, no title, but by butchery,
 robbery, rapine, and forcible entry—and that
 she was thrown down and killed by the com-
 mon bounden duty and faith of Subjects to
 their Prince. *Baronius* a Cardinal, that the
Maccabees of *Levi* or house of the *Ass-*
monians, may not be made Usurpers, mat-
 ches them with the royall line of *David*,
 else sayes he, *absque labe tyrannidis*, without *Apom.*
 the stain of *Tyranny*, they could not meddle
 with the Kingdome. *Rodolph* Duke of *Sue-*
via or *Swabianland* set up for a false Empe-
 rour by that devilish Pope *Hildebrand* a-
 gainst the Emperour *Hen.* the III. is called
 by the Germanes a *Tyrant* upon this
 score. A full Tyrannie (sayes one of our
 Chiefe Justices, speaking of the Papall
 power in Church causes here) has two
 parts, without right to usurp, and inordi-
 nately to ritle, and the Statute 28 of King
Henry the 8. against the Papall Authority,
 calls it an usurped *Tyranny*, and the exer-
 cise of it a Robbery, and spoyling of the
 King, and his people.

The Statute 31 *Henry* 6: adjudging *John*
Cade another Impe of Hell, and successor
 of *Wat* to be a traitour, which are the words

of the title, and all his Indictments, and Acts to be void, speaks thus; The most abominable *Tyranny*, horrible, odious, and arrant false Traytour; *John Gade*, naming himselfe sometime *Mortimer* (he and *Tyler* had two Names) taking upon him Royall power, &c. by false, subtile, and imagined language, &c. Robbing, Stealing, and spoyling, &c. And that all his *Tyranny*, Acts, Feats, and false opinions, shall be voyded, and that all things depending thereof, &c. under the power of *Tyranny*, shall be likewise void, &c. and that all Indictments in times comming in like case under power of *Tyranny*, Rebellion, &c. shall be void in Law; and that all Petitions delivered to the King in his last *Parliament*, &c. against his minde, by him not agreed, shall be put in oblivion &c. as against God, and conscience, &c.

To proceed, The King, because all these risings were by the Ring leaders protested to be made for him and his Rights, and that the forces then raised, were raised by his Authority, and all their actions owned by him, issues out a Proclamation from *London*, to this effect.

Richard

Richard &c. To all and singular
 Sheriffes, Majors, Bayliffs, &c.
 of our County of N. &c. Because we
 are given to understand; That divers
 of our Subjects, who against our Peace,
 &c. have raised and in diverse Con-
 venticles and Assemblies, &c. Do af-
 firme, That they the said Assemblies;
 and Levies have made, and doe make
 by Our will and Authority, &c. We
 make knowne to all men, That such
 Levies, Assemblies, and Mischiefes,
 from Our Will and Authority have not
 proceeded (He addes) they were begun,
 and continued much to His displeasure
 and disgrace, to the prejudice of His
 Crowne, and dammage of the Realm.
 Wherefore he injoyes and commands,
 &c. To take the best care for the keep-
 ing of his Peace, & opposing of all such
 Levies with a strong hand: Farther,
 He commands every man to leave such
 Assemblies, and return home to his own
 house under penalty of forfeiture of
 Life, and Member, and all things
 forfeitable to the King, &c.

These

These *Clowns* charge not the King to be transported Furiously, and Hostilely, to the destruction of the whole people, which can never happen, where the King is in his wits; But what is folly as mad, they will suppose him to Arms against his own life and power, against his own peace, and the peace of all that love him. This *Proclamation* put life into the Royalists, into all honest hearts, and dismayes as much the Rebels, yet after this the *Essex* Traitors, gather again at *Byllicoy* near *Hatfield* Peverell, and send to the King, now at *Walsham*, to know whether he intends to make good his Grants of Liberties, and require to be made equal with their Lords, without being bound to any Suite of Court, view of *Frankpledge*, only excepted twice the year.

Wals.

The King and his Counsell are startled at this impudence: The King answers the Agents, That if he did not look upon them as *Messengers*, he would hang them up: Return (sayes he) to your fellow Rebels, and tell them, *Clowns* they were, and are, and shall continue in their Bondage, not as hitherto, but far more basely trampled on. While we live, and rule this Kingdom, by Gods Will we will imploy all our Means and Power to keep you under: So that your misery shall frighten all
villains

villains hereafter : And your posterity shall
 curse your memory. At the heels of the
 Messengers, the King sends his Uncle Tho-
 mas of Woodstock Earl of Buckingham, and
 Sir Thomas Percy with a body of Horse to
 quell them. The Rebels were intrenched
 according to the manner of *Lisiers* Camp,
 in the midst of Woods ; Ten Lances of the
 Avant Courours rout them ; the Lords,
 when they were come up , inclose the
 Woods round, five hundred are killed,
 eight hundred Horses for carriage taken,
 the broken remainders of the defeat e-
 scape to *Colchester*, a Town ever honest, *Wals-*
ingham and faithfull to the Prince, where the loyal
 Townsmen would not be gotten to stir ;
 they sollicite the Townsmen (saies the
Monk) with much intreaty , great threats,
 and many arguments ; neither intreaties,
 nor threats, nor arguments would move
 them : From thence they get to *Spalding*,
 making every where such *Proclamations* as
 of old they had used ; where the Lord *Fitz-*
Walter (whose seat was at *Woodham Wal-*
ters in *Essex*) and Sir *John Harleston* rush
 suddenly upon them , kill and take them :
 The King meaning to visite *Essex* in his
 own person, comes to *Flowering* at the
 house, a Mannour of his own demain , of
 the sacred Patrimony, and from thence to
Chelmsford,

Wals.
Windsor, where he appoints Sir *Robert Traillian* chief Justice of his Bench of *Plac* of the Crown, to sit and inquire of the Malefactours, and Troublers of the Country, and to punish the offendours according to the customs of the Realm, known, and visible.

Five hundred of these wretched peasants, who had no mercy for others heretofore, cast themselves down before the King bare footed, and with heads uncovered, implore his pardon, which he grants them, on condition, They discover the great Conspiratours, the Captain *Rogues*. The Jurors are charged by the chief Justices to carry themselves indifferently, and justly in their Verdicts, neither swayed by love, or hatred, to favour, or prosecute any man : Many upon the Evidence given in, and the finding of the Jury, were condemned to be drawn and hanged ; nineteen of them were trussed upon one Gallows. Heading had formerly been the execution of others in *Essex*, *Kent*, and *London*, because of the numbers of the guilty, which was now thought a death short of the demerits of the most foul and heynous offenders ; Wherefore according to the custom of the Realm, It was decreed (says the Monk) that the Captains should be hanged.

The

The like was done in other Countreys by the Justice in Commission, where the King was in person. Here the King with the advice of his Counsell, revokes his *Letters Patents*, the Charters granted to the Clowns: *Although* (so he speaks) *we have* have in the late detestable troubles, &c. manumitted all the Commons, our *Liege Subjects* of our Shires, and them, &c. have freed from all bondage and service, &c. And also have pardoned the same, our *Liege men and Subjects* all Insurrections by Riding, Going, &c. And also all manner of Treasons, Felonies, Trespases, and Extortions, &c. Notwithstanding for that the said Charters, were without mature deliberation, and rudely procured, &c. To the prejudice of us, and our Crown, of the Prelates, and great men of our Realm; as also to the disherison of holy English Church, and to the hurt and damage of the Common wealth, the said Letters we revoke, make void, and annul; &c. Yet our intention is such Grace upon every of our said Subjects to confer, though enormously their Allegiance they have forfeited, &c. As shall be usefull to us, and our Realm.

The close commands to bring in to the King and his Councell all Charters of manumission, and pardon to be cancelled upon their faith and allegiance, and under forfeiture

forfeiture of all things forfeitable, &c.
swimisse our selfe as Chelmsford the 7. of
July; and 5. year of our reign. False for
the 4.

441.3.14.

In the case of a Subject (and no reason
 Kings shall be more bound) every Act ex-
 orted by violence, and awe upon the Ar-
 gent is voyd. In the time of *Edward the*
third, two Thieves (which was the case
 here) force a Traveller to swear that he
 will at a day appointed bring them a thou-
 sand pound; and threaten to kill him if he
 refuse their oath; He swears, and performs
 what he had sworn; by advice of all the
 Justices these two were Indicted of Rob-
 bery, and the Court maineines that the
 party was not bound by this Oath. Yet if
 this be denyed as unsafe, Violence, or
 Force, which strikes a just fear into any
 man, makes any Contract voyd, say the
Calender.

Step. ad
Apolog.

Bishop *Andrewes*; that most learned
 Prelate, answer to the pretended resig-
 nation of King *John*, urged by *Bellarmine*,
 that what this King did, (if any such act
 was done) was done by force, and out of
 feare.

Admonis.
disj. de jur.
fol. 1.1.

Widdrington, the mostloyall of all Ro-
 man Catholick Priests, who write much a-
 gainst the Gunpowder Jesuits, in defence
 of

of the right of Kings, against those Jesuits who would have cut off the King, the Royal Family, the Bishops of the English Catholick Church, the Nobility and Gentry, as their Letter speaks, with one blow, sayes of this Resignation, or Donation, if we may (so he) call it so, That it was not freely given. The Jesuites challenge the perpetuall dictature, or regency of the University of *Pontassesson* by Bull of *Jir-
the* the first, contrary to the Statutes of the foundation by *Gregory* the thirteenth. Were the Bull true (sayes *Barlais*) yet it ought not to be of force, because it was obtain'd presently after his Creation, when things are presumed to be rather extorted than obtained. *Bodin* denies that a King deceived or forced can be bound by his grants. The justice of Contracts is that alone which binds. The distinction of Royall and Private acts is of more sound then strength, and answers not the injuries of the impulsive violence, which must be naturally vicious every where, and corrupt, and weaken the effects, and cannot be good and bad by changes, or as to this, or that. *Grotius*, who loves this distinction, in another place is positive, There must be Equality in all Contracts. He condemns all fear, or awe upon the person purposely moved

moved for the contracts sake, and tells us out of *Xenophon* of those of *Lacedaemon* who annulled a sale of lands which the *Elans* had forced the owners to passe out of fear.

Exil. Hug.
le de Spem-
ser pat. &
fil.

Rel furtiva
eterna au-
thoritas
est.

A Charter of King *Henry* the third imprisoned and forced, is said by *Alderman* to be voyd upon this reason, and I judge the justice of this revocation by the Law of *England*, by which, as our old Parliaments, such force is Treason. The fruits of w^{ch} were here more justly plucked up than they were planted. He who gives up his money to Thieves, according to his oath, may lawfully take it away from them: however they are bound to make restitution. Nor can any prescription of time establish a right of possession in him, who makes his seizure upon no other title but Plunder and Robbery. The 5th of this King, the Parliament declares these Grants to be forced and voyd. Enough to clear the honour of King *Richard*, as to this part.

At *Chelmsford* the King is informed of the whole History of mischiefs done at *St. Albans*, and resolved in person with all his Guards and Cavalry to ride thither, and sentence the Malefactors with his own mouth; but Sir *Walter Leye* of *Harsford*

shire

shire, fearing the much impoverishing the Country, if the *King* should make any long stay there with such numbers as then attended him, beseeches him to make a tryal whether things might not be composed without him, and offers to reconcile the *Abbes* and Townsmen, if the *King* would; which was consented to: The *King* grants him a *Commission*, and joyns with him *Edward Beusfude*, *Geofrey Stukelys*, and others of the Gentry of that County.

The coming of these *Commissioners* was noyed at *St. Albans*: The fiercest of the Clowns knowing what they had done was condemned by the Law, and not to be defended, but by force, which now they had not, began to shake and take fright, are plotting to get out of the way. *Grindscab*, Lieutenant of the late *Idol*, comforts them, he perswades to goe to *Horse*; Let us meet the Knight (says he) and see whether his looks promise Peace or not; if not, the Towns about us have engaged, they have associated, and are of our *League*, we are rich, and cannot want good fellows, who will assist us while our monies last: On *St. Peters* day this ill advised crew meets the Knight upon the *Rode*, who was ignorant of their resolutions, and conduct him

honourably, according to their fashion to the Town: Sir *Walter* had with him fiftie Lances, and some Companies of Archers, lifted at random, many of them being of the Charles, and confederates with them: The Knight cites the Towns-men and their Neighbours to appear before him in *Der-ford*, to hear the pleasure and commands of the King; They fail not, *There* he tells them what Forces the King had assembled, how rigorously those of *Essex* were sentenced: That the King was highly incensed at the troubles and seditions of this place of which he was the Patron and Defender: That with great difficulty he had procured of the King a Commission, by which himself, and others, not Strangers, or Enemies, but their Friends and Neighbours were authorised to do Justice in the Kings stead; he concludes, if they will appease the King, they must find out, and deliver up the beginners of these broyles, and make satisfaction to the Lord Abbot, an holy, and a just man, for the wrong they had done him.

This many of the hearers approve, and promise to obey. The Knight charges a Jury to be made ready the next morning, and make what discovery they can, and gives the people leave to depart. Towards
night

night he sends for the Jury to his Chamber, intending to have apprehended the Lieutenants, by the assistance of the Jury, without any noyse. These good men and true know nothing, it was the case of their fellows in mischiefe, and might be their own. They answer in a plain *Ignorantia*, they can indict no man, accuse no man. Amongst all the sounder of these swine, there was not one who had been faithlesse and disloyal to his natural Liege Lord, not one breaker of his peace, not one who could appear so to them.

The Knight seems not to understand the falsnesse and cunning of these Hob-nails perjured Juglers. He takes another way, and next requires them within a peremptory time to bring him the Charters which they had forced from the Monastery, they return after a short consultation, and in the Abbots chamber, where the Knight then was, tell him, *They dare not obey out of fear of the Commons, what was more, they knew not in whose custody the Charters were.* The Knight grows angry, and swears, they shall not goe out of the Chamber till he have them, which they call imprisoning their persons. Here the Abbot intercedes, and though he knew them as very knaves and

lyars as any *Tyler* had set on work, yet he will not (he sayes) distrust their honesty, he will leave things to their consciences, upon which they are freed.

Another Assembly is appointed at *Barnet Wood*, whither the Villagers about throng in multitudes. Three hundred Bowmen of *Barnet*, and *Berkhamsted*, make here so terrible a show nothing is done.

The Commissioners privately charge the Gentry, Constables, and Bayliffe to seize in the night *Greynock*, *Cadindon*, *John* the Barber, with some others, and to bring them to *Hertsford*, whither themselves went in all haste, which was performed: The Esquires and servants of the Abby were sent with them to strengthen the company. This inrages the Townsmen afresh, they gather into Conventicles in the Woods, and Fields, so much frightful to the Monastery, that the *Abbot* recalls his Esquires, lets the prosecution fall, and fearfully summons in his friends to guard him, *Greynock's* friends take advantage of this change, and bayl him for three dayes, within which time they were either tyed to agree with the *Abby*, or render up *Greynock* to the Justices again. The Townsmen fierce enough still, yet earnest to preserve their Worthy,

Worthy, are content to part with the Charters; But this *Grayndesh* (more fool-hardy than wise) would not consent to, Nor does he, as knowing the stiffness of his Clowns, whine in a Religious tone, never used by him.

He prays them to consider how beautiful *Liberty* is, how sweet, how honourable; Dangerous *Liberty* (says he) is more valuable than safe and quiet slavery, let us live, or die with *Liberty*, in so generous, so honest a contention, it will be glorious to be overcome; whatsoever our feares are, worse we cannot be, than now we are about to make our selves; Success too does not so often faile men as their owne industry and boldnesse; Feare not for me, nor trouble your selves at my dangers, I shall thinke my selfe more happy than our Lords, if they prosper, or their King, to die a Martyr of the Cause, with the reputation of such a gallantry. Let such courage as would have hurried you forward to all brave and signall mischiefs, had I *lost* my head at *Hartford*, inflame your heavy sprights; Methinks I see the Heroe *Ty-lers* Ghost chiding our sluggish cowardice, and by the blazes of his fire-brands kindled in Hel, and waved by Fiends about

*Per tale
Martyrium
vis à faire.*

*Her
dia, He-
sterns de-
lam, etc.*

his head, leade on to noble villanies,

Let dreaming Monks and Priests tremble at the aery sounds of God, and Saints; he who feares Thunder-bolts is a religious heartlesse Coxcombe, and shall never climb a Molehill. Thus our buskin'd Martyr swaggers, after the raptures put upon him by *Walsingham*; *Greynecob*s stubbornnesse hardens on the Clownes, they now accuse themselves of basenesse, that they did not cut off the Knights Head, and naile it on the Pillory, to the terrour (say they) of all Judges, and false Justices. *Greynecob* had raised spirits which he could not lay when he would.

Three dayes being expired, he is againe sent to *Hartford Gaol*, where hee heares news from his Brother, who mediated for him in the Court, not very pleasing, which he communicates to his Townsmen. His intelligence was to this effect; That *Rich: of Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Thomas Percie* with a thousand armed men were appointed to visite *S. Albanes*.

At this report the Rebels startle, they fall to new Treaties, offer the Charters and Book, in which the old *Pleas* betwixt the *Abby* and the Town were recorded, with 200 l. for amends. The Booke is received,
the

the rest put off till the next day. The Earl of Warwick sends onely excuses, (he heard his own house was on fire, that the Clowns of his own Lordships were up, and hee leaves all things else to quell them. This raises the fallen courages of those of St. Albans, they now laugh at their late fears, If the Commons, say they, must quit their right of Conquest, and surrender their Charters, yet will not we (the renowned Mechanicks) of St. Albans be their president. And as in all tumults (which can never be observed too often) lying is necessary, and must not be uselesse, whatsoever else is, They lay the blame of their obstinacy upon the Inhabitants of *Barnet* and *Watford*, who threaten (so they would have it believed) to burn their Town if they deliver up their *Liberties*.

Which Inhabitants of *Barnet*, and *Watford* had humbly surrendered theirs before, and submitted to the Kings mercy: Thus we find these Rebels of St. *Albans* again swaggering in their old *Rhodomontades*. An Esquire of the *Abbots* acquaints the King with these turnings, who vows to sit personally in judgement upon these everlasting male-contentes.

The *Abbot* full of pittie and charity, who

had saved some of these enemies of his House from the Axe by intercession at London: continues his goodness still, he solicites Sir *Hugh Sagraw*, Steward of the Household, and others of his friends to mitigate the Kings displeasure, and hinder his journey thither, which was not in their power. Now again are the Townsmen dejected, and seek by all means to keep off the tempest which threatned them: They see Sir *William Croyster* a Lawyer to make their defence, and mediate with the *Abbot*, where there was no danger: an agreement is concluded the day of the *King's* entry, by which they would bind the *Abbot* not to disclose them, or inform against them.

See 17 H.
8. c. 24.

He promises (if they fail not in performance on their part) not to make any complaints to the *King* of them, that he would be a suitor for their peace if his prayers may be heard, but that here he cannot assure them, Pardons were Acts flowing meerly from the *Kings* Grace. No man had any power or authority to pardon or remit treasons, &c. but the *King*; and whether he could prevail for them he knew not. This doubtfulness troubles them, it seems to call their innocency too much in-

to question. They tell him, his good will was sufficient, and that as to what belonged to the Royal Dignity they should satisfy the King.

After Vespers the King made his entry into the Town, being met by the *Abbot* and *Cowart*, the Bells rang aloud, and the Monks sang merrily his welcome: He was followed by some thousands of Bowmen, and Cavaliers. In this train was Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, who the next day, being Saturday the 13. of July, and first of the Dog-dayes sat in judgement at the Moot-hall (*later Walsingham*) at the Town-house.

Grayndcob, *Cadindon*, and *Joby* the Barber are fetched from *Hartford*, and laid fast till Munday, against which time new Jurymen are chosen, and charged to be ready with their Verdicts: *Prophet Baal*, the *Servant* of the new *Altar*, the Priest of the Idol, and his Calves, the *Martin* of the *yeak*, of pure discipline of the *Eldership*, was taken by the Townsmen of *Covinity*, brought to *St. Albans* the day before, and this Saturday condemned by the Chief Justice to be Drawn, Hanged, Beheaded, Imbowelled, and Quartered, which was done on the Munday following.

He confessed to the Bishop of London (to whose Christian Piety he ought the two last dayes of his life, which were begged for his repentance) that certaine bold and powerfull Pastours of the Separation, Brethren of simple hearts, called by the Spirit (he named six or seven) had covenanted, and engaged to compass England and Wales round, as Itinerant Apostles to propagate the Gospel, beat down all abomination of the outward Man, Antichristian Hierarchy, and Tyranny of the Nimrods of the Earth, to try up the great and holy Cause, and to spread the Lian, Principles, and Heresies of Babel, which Disciples (saies this Rabbi) unless they be prevented, and taken off wil destroy the Realm in five years: Hee might have said, two months, and been believed, as to the Civility, Humanity, Order, and Honour (never intermitted but in the confusion of a barbarous, impious age) which made England glorious, they had been destroyed, and torn up in a less time, A few licentious ill Acts easily beget a custom, and an hundred ill customes quicklier grow and prevail than one single good one, there is a proneness in unruly man to run into deboshments, and no wonder that the arrogant, misled, silly multitude capable of any ill impressions should

should deprave and disorder things, where all ties of restraint are loosened, nay, where disorders are not onely defended by the corrupt wits of hirelings, but bidden, strengthened by a Law, and Villainies made legal Acts.

Had the Idol King *Tyler*, with his Council not gone on too far in the way of excommunication, but endeavoured to repair the breaches of his entrance; it would have been no small labour to have restored things to any firm and tolerable condition. If *Presbyter Wickliffe*, and his *Classes* by their pernicious Doctrines (as they are charged to this day) did first pervert and corrupt the people, and broach that vessel with which Father *Baal* and *Straw* poisoned them, they must have ruined themselves by the change; sure enough they had been no more comprehended in any of *Tylers* Toleration than the *Prelatical* or *Papistical* party.

In the turmoiles and outrages of this Tyrannis, had it taken, Innocence, Virtue, Ingenuity, Honesty, Faith, Learning, and Goodness had been odious, and dangerous. The profit, and advantage of the new Usurpers had been the measure of Justice and right: The noble and ignoble had

had dyed Streets and Scaffolds with their blood, not by Laws and Judgement, but out of malice to their height and worth, out of fury and covetousness to enrich publicke Thieves and Murtherers. The jealousies too and feares of *Tyler* had made all men unsafe. Yet the repute, the renowne of the Founders could not have been much: The glory of successe cannot be greater then the honesty of the enterprise; there must be Justice in the quarrell, else there can be no true honour in the prosperity. *Cato* will love the conquered Common-wealth: *Jugurtha's* fame, who is sayd to bee Illustrious for his Parricides and Rapines, will not make all men fall down and worship.

On *Munday* the fifteenth of *July* (not of *October*, as *VValfingham* is mis-printed) The Chiefe Justice *Tresilian* calls before him the Jury for Inquiry, who faulter, and shamelssly protest they cannot make any such discovery as is desired. The Chiefe Justice puts them in minde of the *Kings* Words to them upon the way, promising pardon if they will finde out the offenders, else threatning them with the punishment they should have suffered, who through such silence cannot be apprehended.

Out

Out they goe againe, and the Chiefe Justice follows them; He shewes them a Roll of the principall Offenders names, tells them they must not thinke to delude and blinde the Court with this impudence, and advises them out of a care to preserve wicked mens lives not to hazard their own.

Hereupon they Indict many of the Towne and Country, which Indictments are allowed by a second Inquest appointed to bring in the Verdict, and againe affirmed by a third Jury of twelve, charged onely for the faireness of the Tryall: So no man was pronounced guilty, but upon the finding, of thirty six Jurors. Then were the Lieutenants *Greyndcob, Caddington*, and *Barber*, and twelve more Condemned, Drawne, and Hanged. *VVallingford*, *John Garleck*, *VVilliam Berwill*, *Thomas Puter*, and many more, with eightie of the Countrey, were Indicted by their Neighbours, and Imprisoned, but forgiven by the Kings Mercie, and discharged. They were forgiven most by the Kings Mercie; for hee had forbidden by Proclamation, all men to sue or begge for them, a command which the good *Abbes* sometimes disobey-

and hee shall bee well thanked for it.

No benefices can oblige some men: A true rugged childe can never be made false, never bee tyed by any merit whatsoever. Nothing can sollicit him: See an unhealed of shamelesse rill then; These lax, tender-hearted Clowns, who could hardly be got to discover the guilty, now run with full speed to betray the innocent. They indict the *Abbot* as the principall Raiser, and contriver of these Tumults, which struck at his own life, and the being and safetie of his Monastery. The *Abbot*, as it is said, sent to *Tylor*, upon his ordinances some of the Town and Monastery, but to temporize, and secure himself. This is now supposed by the very Traytors indeed; *Treason by Common Law and Statute against the King his naturall liege Lord.* This having not the feare of God in his heart, &c. but being seduced by the instigation of the Devill, is compassing the death, &c. the deprivation and deposing of his Sovereign Lord from his Royal Seate, &c. (as such indictments use to run) this must goe for levying War against our Lord the King, adhering to, comforting, and aiding his enemies by open fact; which are the words of the Statute of *Treason*, declarative of the Common Law. The

The Chief Justice, abominating and cursing the treacherous malice and perfidiousness of these Breve, makes them tear the Indictment, which themselves, though urged, are not wicked enough to swear to; nay, which publicly they confess to be false in the face of the Court.

Villainage was not now abolished, though so methink otherwise, but by degrees extinguished since this reigns. Besides, the Letters of Revocation before, restoring all things to their old course, A Commission, which the Abbot procured from the King out of the Chancery, then kept in the Chapter-house of this Monastery, makes this manifest, which speaks to this effect:

Richard by the grace of God King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, &c. To his beloved John Lodowick, Jo: Westwycomb, &c. We command you, and every of you, upon sight of these presents, &c. That on our part, forthwith ye cause to be proclaimed, That all and singular the Tenants of our beloved in Christ, the Abbot of S. Albane, as well free

as bond; the Works, Customes and Services, which they, to the foresaid Abbot ought to doe, and of ancient time have been accustomed to performe, without any contradiction, murther, &c. Doe as before they have been accustomed.

The disobedient are commanded to be taken, and imprisoned as Rebels.

11 H. 7. 13

In the time of King Henry the seventh there were villains. This I observe, to make it appeare how little it is which the miserable common people, without whom no famous mischief can be attained, are gainers by any of their riots, or seditions; whatsoever the changes are, their condition is still the same or worse; if some few of them advance themselves by the spoiles of the publique shipwrack, the rest are no happier for it; the insolent sight offends their eyes, they see the dirt of their owne ditches Lord it over them, and the body of them (perhaps) more despised than ever. Tyler (who could not but have known that nothing can be so destructive to Government, as the licentiousnesse of the base Commons) would doubtlesse (when his
own

by his work had been done) quickly have
 chained up the Monster, he would have
 perched in the Kings sacred Oake; all the
 Forrest should have been his, Bishopricks,
 Earledomes, nay the Kingdomes had been
 swallowed by him; instead of a just legal
 power by which the Kings acted, an *arbi-
 trary, boundlesse, unlimited power* must have
 been set up; instead of a fatherly royall
 Monarchy, a *Tyrannie* after the Turkish
 mode, a Monarchy seignioral; and had he
 brought in upon the fall of the Christian
 Faith and Worship, which must have fol-
 lowed his *establishment*, Circumcision, and
 the Creed of *Mahomet*: as the spirits of
 men were then debased, he must have been
 obeyed. All the Kings right (and more)
 must have been his; *Sultan Tylers Prerogative*
 would have been found more grie-
 vous, more heavy, more killing than all the
 yokes and scorpions of our Kings, no man,
 when he went to sleep, cou'd assure himself
 that one Law would be left next morning;
 the *Ordinances* of *Tyler* and his Council
 flew about in swarms, killing and rooting
 up the Laws: one Proclamation of this
 Tyrants was of force to blow up the an-
 cient Foundation; enough to have made men
 mad, if ever they could wake, and under-

stand : when the *French* had conquered *Naples*, the people looked for a Golden World, they thought their new Master would (as the King of *Mexico's* Oath used to say) do Justice to all men, make the Sun to shine, the Clouds to rain, the Earth to be fruitfull : They promise themselves Liberty, and that the accustomed Imposts of their former Kings of the House of *Arragon* should not onely be taken off, but the very word *Gabells* driven out of the Kingdom, ther should be no such thing in nature left ; but foolish dolts as they were, they found an alteration quickly, instead of a Court Cavalrie before (the new Masters ill established and assured, not daring to trust any thing) standing Armies were continually to be kept on foot, instead of one Tax, intolerable of late, they are oppressed with ten, their backs and shoulders crack under the load.

Upon this fancy of these abused *Italians*, says the Historian, *This is the custome, for the most part of all people weary ever of the present condition, and inconsiderately gaping after a change, but they receive such wages of their fond and disorderly lightness.*

The War undertaken against *Lewis* the 11 of *France* by the House of *Burgundy*.
Dukes

Dukes of Berry, Brittain, and Barbaui, called the *Weale publick* was not made against the King (say the Allies) but against evill order, injustice in the Government, and for the *publick good* of the Realm. In the Treaty for Peace these fine things are forgotten, the wretched Peasants torn and ground with Taxes, left to shift for themselves.

The Prince of the *Burgundies* demands the Townes upon the *Sonne* for himselfe: *Normandy* for the Duke of Berry, and other places, Offices, and Pensions for the rest, some overtures were made for the *Weal publick* (sayes the History) that is all, *Commes*. the *Weal publick* was the least of the question, the *Weal publick* was turned to *Weal particular*, *self sucking* was the sum of the business. This has been the fashion of all Rebels hitherto, and will bee to the worlds end. After these proceedings the *Hertsfordshire* men betwixt the ages of 15 and 60 present themselves according to command, and take the Oath of Allegiance; they are sworn too to unkennel and apprehend the late Incendiaries.

The King having now quieted the commotions removes to *Berkhamsted* eight miles from *St. Albans*, a royal Castle then,

and at *Easthamsted* where he hunts, is informed, That the bodies of the Traytors executed were taken down from the Gallows, hereupon he directs his Writ or Letter to the Bailies of *St. Albans*, commanding them under penalty of forfeiting all things forfeitable to hang up again the said bodies now rotten, and flinking in Iron chains, which the Townsmen are forced to do with their own hands.

A Parliament sitting in *May* the fifth year of this Kings Reign, *John Wren* Priest of the Reformation at *Mildenhall*, and *St. Edmundsbury* was taken, and upon the Petition of the house of Commons to the King, judged to be drawn, and hanged. In the same Parliament too it was enacted, That wheresoever any Clowps by six or seven in a company kept suspicious Conventicles, the Kings good and faithfull Subjects should lay hold of them, and commit them to the next Gaol without staying for the Kings Writ. In the same Parliament of the King it was made Treason to begin a Riot, Rout, or Rumour, by this Parliament, and that of the 6. Provisions are made for those whose Deeds were burnt or destroyed in the late insurrection, and in the 8. of *Richard*, the King pardons the multitudes for their

Wall.
Hypod.

their misdeemeanours in the totality. The
 Clowes now every where return'd to their
 old Obediance, and the winds were laid in
 all their quarters. *Richard*, a Prince born for
 troubles, shall be immoiled with the *Re-
 bellious* of his *Peers* and *Parliament*; de-
 posed and murdered by them, yet his me-
 mory shall be sacred, his *Peers* and *Clergy*
 shall dig for him in the grave, *Poland* too
 shall owe all things to his person. After
 the death of *Richard*, a wicked bloody
 chief, a cruel tyrant, who needed the *Rom-
 an* *Capitulum*, *Capitulum* *Capitulum*
 for *Law* *Law* *Law* by *Claw* *Claw* *Claw*
 Consul to the *Emperours* *Maximus* and
Balbilla, whom he calls *Profectors* and *Re-
 directors* of the *Common Wealth*, there the
 Consul tells them they had restored to the
 Senate (the house of Lords) their au-
 dignity, to the *Romans* their *Laws*, *Equity*,
 and *Clemency* abolished, their lives, their
 manners, their liberty, the hopes of succas-
 sion to their heirs. He adds, they had freed
 the *Provinces* from the insatiable covetous-
 ness of tyrannes, no voice, language, nor
 wit can exprefs (saies he) the publick happi-
 nesse.

King *Richard* restored to the Church and
 Univerſities their rights and possessions, so
 the

their honour, to the
 their respect, to the Cries their true
 the plenty of his harvest, to the industry
 Countryman, Security, Peace, and Liberty
 to all Orders, what Prince could believe
 greater benefit upon a people? he was the
 Saviour, the Saviour of the Nation, a Nation
 not worthy of him, whose ingratitude
 to his sacred head, whose perfidiousness
 and impiety in advancing an usurper upon
 his ruins, were punished with a fatal Civil
 War, which lasted ages, with an issue of
 blood which could not be stopped till the
 true and lawful heir of this Prince was se-
 ated in the Imperial Throne, according to the
 Faith and Oathes of this people (which
 whatsoever may be pretended no power
 on earth can dispence with) and accord-
 ing to the Fundamental Laws of England.

FINIS.